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A SURVEY OF DIALECT VARIATIONS IN RUKIGA.

CORRIGENDA

2.5.1.

Page 33, 7 lines from bottom: for '- tʃa -' read - tʃá -'.

Page 34, first line: for '- ra - (modified root)' read '-a- (modified root)'.

2.5.2.

Page 34, 13 - 11 lines from bottom: Sentence beginning 'The negative ...' should read 'The negative far past tense uses a tense infix /-ra-/ with the modified root and the negative far future tense uses the tense infix /-ri-/'

2.5.4.

Page 35, 12 lines from bottom: for '/tʃa /' read '/-tʃá -/'.

5.7.4.

Page 154, 7 lines from bottom: for '2.5.3.' read '2.5.4.'

5.7.5.

Page 157, 11 lines from top: for 'Map 5' read 'Map 5.1.'

5.11.1.

Page 164, 15 lines from top: insert comma after 'then'.

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A SURVEY OF
DIALECT VARIATIONS
IN RUKIGA

Robin William Hammett



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ABSTRACT

Kigezi District in South-West Uganda, with its fragmented population separated by hill and swamp barriers and lacking central political institutions, was the focus of a survey of dialectal variation, taking a 1 in 3,500 sample of the population. Areas of recent immigration were excluded.

An outline of phonology and grammar based on the centre of the survey area provides a frame of reference for the discussion of the local differences in phonology, morphology and lexicon under study. Phonetic variations occasionally have phonemic implications. The grammatical concord system is generally constant, but there are considerable variations in the verbal systems, both in the forms employed and in the tense oppositions. The lexicon also shows variant forms; the distribution of features often suggests a distinction between newer and older forms.

Comparison with neighbouring Runyankore to the North-East and Kinyarwanda to the South-West shows that the North-East of the survey area has many Runyankore forms, but other parts have more surprising features: there is a high Runyankore content in the South-West, while the centre leans more towards Kinyarwanda. The pygmy Batwa are relatively isolated.

The data illustrate well the continuity of linguistic relationship. Some isoglosses coincide, running generally in a North-West/South-East direction. A distinction of three dialects is suggested, identified, however, rather by their cores than by any clear boundaries.

The linguistic findings confirm and amplify the picture of history given by oral tradition. The Bakimbiri clan in the South-West and the Bahororo in the North-East have traditions of migration from the same general area, while the Kinyarwanda forms of the central Bahimba clan suggest an earlier Banyarwanda presence in their area.

A SURVEY OF DIALECT VARIATIONS IN RUKIGA

1.	The Experiment.	4
	1.1. Introduction; 1.2. Topography and patterns of settlement in Kigezi; 1.3. Social organisation of the Bakiga; 1.4. Modern influences on Rukiga; 1.5. The boundaries of the area; 1.6. Choice of and procedure with informants; 1.7. Extent and form of the items; 1.8. Conclusion.	
2.	Rukiga Phonology and Grammar.	23
	2.1. Phonology: Vowels; 2.2. Phonology: Consonants; 2.3. Phonology: Tone; 2.4. Morphology: the Concord System; 2.5. Morphology: the Verbal System; 2.6. Other forms.	
3.	The Items of the Survey.	41
	3.2.-3.9. Phonological items; 3.14-3.20. Morphological items; 3.24.-3.70. Lexical items.	
4.	Relationship to Runyankore and Kinyarwanda.	123
	4.1. Guthrie's classification; 4.2. Phonology and morphology; 4.3. The items; 4.4. Homogeneity.	
5.	Language and Dialect.	144
	5.1. Idiolects; 5.2. Political criteria; 5.3. Other extralinguistic criteria; 5.4. Race; 5.5. What the Bakiga say; 5.6. Mutual intelligibility; 5.7. Isoglosses; 5.8. Cores; 5.9. Shared retention; 5.10. False assumptions; 5.11. Conclusions.	
6.	Historical Implications.	167
	6.1. What the maps have shown; 6.2. Extralinguistic evidence; 6.3. Conclusions.	
	Appendix A: The items in English.	182
	Appendix B: Maps of the Items.	185
	Appendix C: Bibliography.	259

1. THE EXPERIMENT

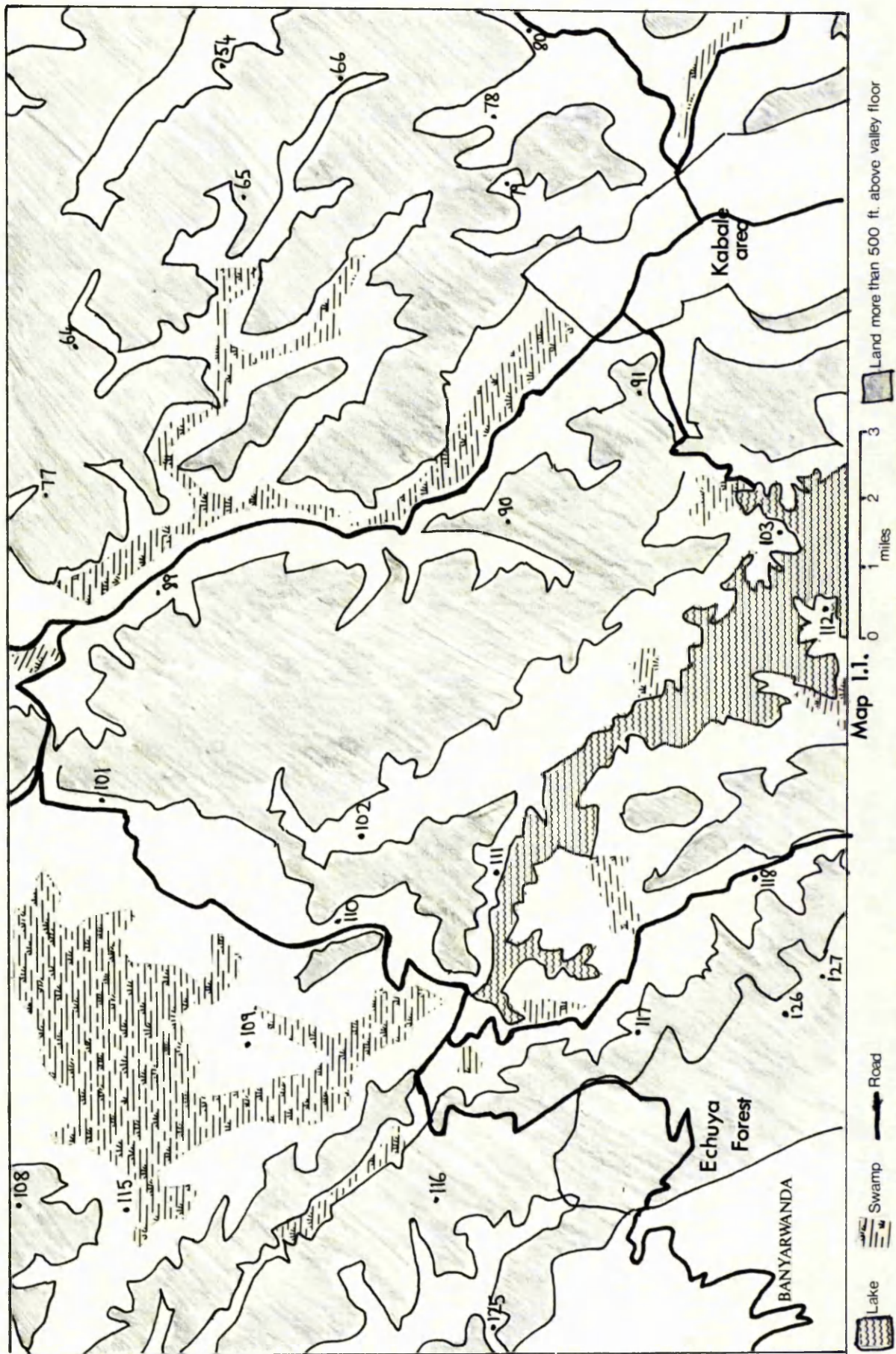
1.1.1. Kigezi District in South-West Uganda is the home of the Bakiga ([batʃíga]) tribe, who speak a language Rukiga ([rutʃíga]). An individual member of the tribe is referred to as a Mukiga ([mutʃíga]). The present work describes and interprets a survey of dialect variations in Rukiga, made by means of a questionnaire of 75 items, given orally to 138 informants. The items cover phonetics, phonology, morphology and vocabulary. The informants are spread in a dense network across the Rukiga area.

1.1.2. The present chapter gives some geographical and sociological background to the work and explains the procedures adopted in forming and administering the questionnaire. Chapter 2 gives an outline of the phonology and morphology of Rukiga in general, noting the areas of divergence which are the subject of the survey. Chapter 3 takes the items of the survey in groups and examines the significance and distribution of the responses given. (The responses are displayed in map form in Appendix B). The remaining chapters investigate the relationship of Rukiga to the neighbouring languages of Runyankore, spoken by the Banyankore tribe of Ankole (Nkore) District of Uganda, and Kinyarwanda, spoken by the Banyarwanda tribe of Rwanda and surrounding areas; consider criteria for dialect division and seek to make such a division for the Rukiga area; and examine the historical implications concerning past movements of clans and tribes which the survey may reveal.

1.2.1. Kigezi District is an area of steep terraced hillsides rising to more than 8,000 feet above sea-level and deep, swamp-filled valleys, the lowest of which in the South is 6,000 feet above sea-level. The area of the survey, which excludes those parts of Kigezi which are inhabited by Banyarwanda or recent settlers (see below, 1.5.), comprises the lands of Bakiga who have no memory of ever having lived anywhere else. Almost every part is densely populated: Kigezi as a whole has a density of 338 per square mile, while Ndorwa County in the South-East

has 673 per square mile.¹ In most areas houses are in the valleys near the available water-supplies; the hillsides are used for cultivation; and the hilltops are communal grazing-grounds. The houses are not always at the lowest level of the valleys, since this is often filled by a swamp or is too narrow to allow of building between the two slopes. Many houses are ranged on the lower slopes either in kraal-type formations (this seems to be the older, now dying pattern) or scattered and surrounded by or adjacent to the land cultivated by the family inhabiting them. Some of the houses are quite high up on the slopes, but, with a few exceptions,² they lie clearly on one side of the hill or the other. Their inhabitants must descend into the valley beneath them (on their side of the hill) to draw water and it is obvious that any other need, material, social or otherwise, which can be fulfilled in that valley will attract these slope-dwellers there rather than send them up over the hill and down into the next valley. The valley therefore forms a social unit. There is naturally some movement of people from one valley to another for such things as markets, but the hill towering two thousand feet above the valley forms a very effective barrier to communication and social intercourse.

1.2.2. It might be expected that people between whom contact is prevented by the hills which separate them may establish contact where their valleys meet. Map 1.1. shows a typical part of the survey area and it will be seen from it that the places where two valleys meet are often filled with swamps. These act as a barrier to communication complementary to that created by the hills. In some cases a road now passes through the swamp, but in others this has not yet come about and the age-old isolation of these valleys remains. Examples in the map are the valleys of informants 64, 65, 66 and 115. Furthermore, groups of valleys which may be said to be joined to each other are often separated from other groups by continuous ranges of hills.³ A valley in Kigezi is a self-contained entity, having no easy communication with other valleys. A valley community



is consequently largely independent of the next valley community and it is in this sense that I speak of the valley as a social unit.

1.2.3. The patterns of communication have begun to change in recent times owing to the building of roads. In the present work, the term 'remote' will be used only with reference to valleys which do not have roads passing through them and do not have easy access to roads.⁴ On Map 1.1. the following informants are in remote valleys, according to that criterion: 64, 65, 66, 102, 108, ~~110~~, 115 and 125.

1.3.1. The topography of their homeland has ensured that the Bakiga have always retained an independence not only from the tribes around them, but also from each other. Whereas the surrounding areas of Toro, Ankole and Rwanda developed through the half-millennium before European rule into centralised states with monarchs wielding absolute power over a wide area,⁵ the Bakiga seem never to have been organised on any basis larger than the lineage.⁶ (The Bahororo and Banyabutumbi in the North of Kigezi did develop political institutions comparable to those of the larger states mentioned above.⁷) Pressure from neighbouring tribes⁸ and inter-clan warfare amongst the Bakiga did not bring about any form of centralised rule over them and so the largest political unit remained that of the clan.

1.3.2. The clan unit was of considerable importance. A clan leader administered justice between the members of his clan; when a man was wronged by a member of another clan, his case could start warfare between the two clans; still today a man may not marry a woman of the same clan as himself (and in some cases a woman belonging to any one of a group of clans of which his own clan is also a member). I considered the possibility that clan might be correlated with linguistic features. I asked

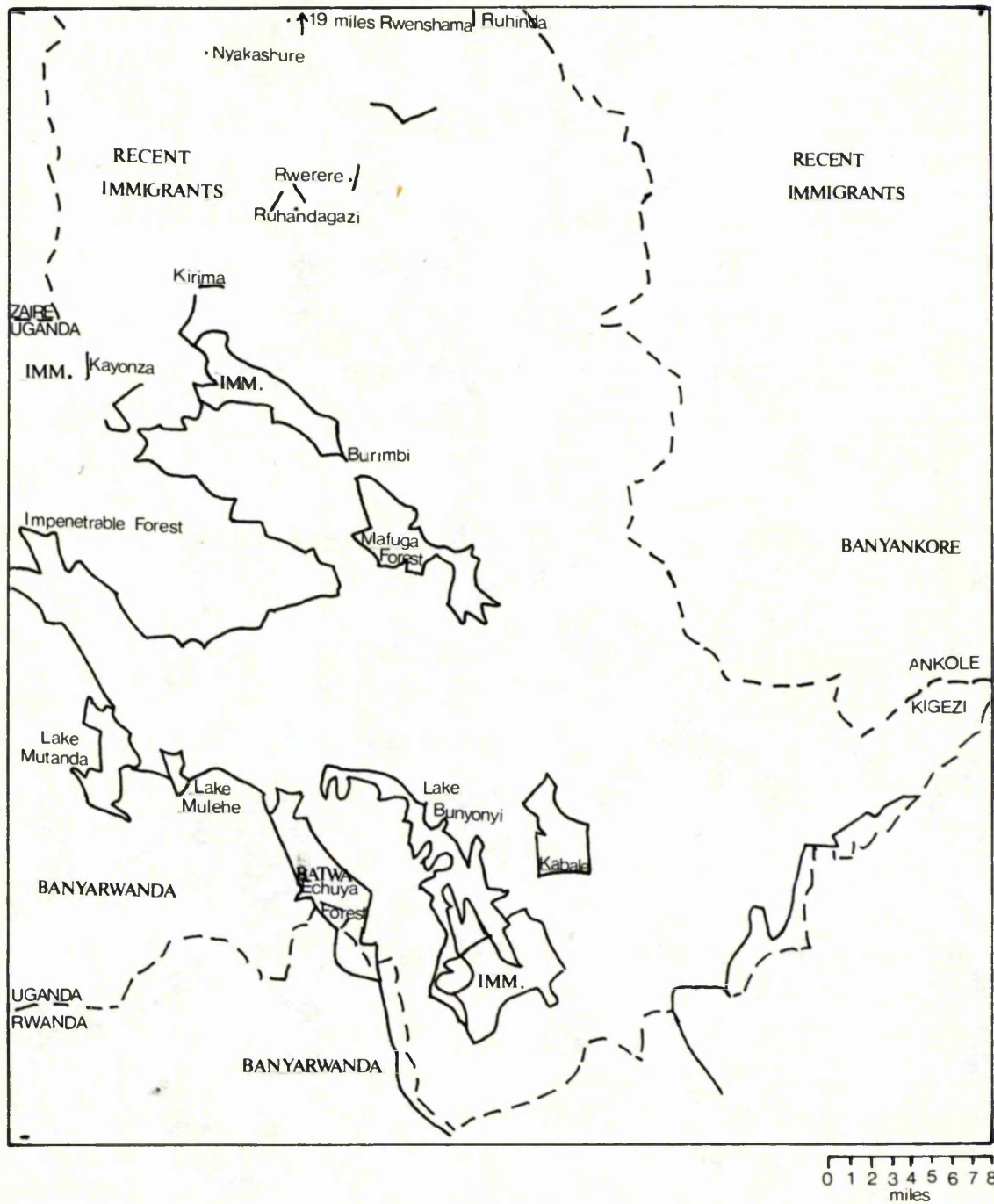
each of my informants to which clan he belonged; the majority gave this information willingly, but a few were unwilling to divulge it.⁹ Analysis showed a great diversity of answers to a single question within a single clan. With the exception of the Bahimba clan, no correlation could be found between clan and language. Accordingly, in what follows, while clans may be referred to when of interest (occasionally in Chapter 3; more frequently in Chapter 6), the answers of informants are considered mainly in relation to their geographical location.

1.4.1. Some account must be taken of the language policies of the colonial and Uganda government administrations. The earliest colonial rule was transmitted in Luganda, replaced for a short time from 1920 by Swahili. Neither language was understood by the Bakiga and so primary-schools began to use readers in the union language of 'Runyoro-Rutooro', hoping that this would make a common medium of instruction for the whole of the Western Province of Uganda. The differences between it and Rukiga were far too great, however, and from 1939 onwards another union language gained acceptance for primary school textbooks, 'Runyankore-Rukiga' (often referred to without the prefixes as 'Nkore-Kiga').¹⁰ The church lagged behind in this, for while Runyankore translations of the gospels were available, the Bible in Runyoro-Rutooro, which appeared in 1952, was adopted in Kigezi. Finally, in 1965, a Bible was published in Runyankore-Rukiga,¹¹ accepted by all the Christian denominations. Radio Uganda also now broadcasts in Runyankore-Rukiga.¹² The acceptance of Runyankore-Rukiga was encouraged by an orthography conference held in 1954.¹³ The report of this conference states at the outset that "both languages shall have equal status." This instruction has not, however, been followed. Where the two languages diverge, it is invariably the Runyankore form that is used in the official combination of them. There is a tendency amongst Bakiga who have received primary education to regard as 'correct' the forms which appear in primary school textbooks. Because of this,

Runyankore forms are in some cases replacing Rukiga ones.¹⁴

1.4.2. Words are also being adopted from Luganda, Swahili, Rutooro and English (items 345, 55, 62, 70, 71 and 72 in the survey concern such borrowings) as a result of the contact with speakers of these languages which has sprung in recent years from missionary enterprises, local administration and the construction of dispensaries. The linguistic scene in the Rukiga area is, therefore, one of change spreading from the places given importance in the administrative structure to remoter areas. In the latter, the speech of the inhabitants is as yet little affected; in the former, the pace of change seems likely to cause the complete disappearance of some of the forms recorded in the survey. In the administrative centre of Kigezi District, Kabale, are to be found people from all parts of the district as well as from outside it, with the result that a mixture of forms from different areas is to be heard there. I accordingly took no informants from Kabale or its immediate vicinity.

1.5.1. Having excluded Kabale from the survey, I then sought to establish precisely the outer boundaries of the Bakiga. The South-West of Kigezi is inhabited by Banyarwanda who speak the same language as their fellow-tribesmen in Rwanda, although a separate dialect is recognised by Tucker and Bryan (1956). The border between Banyarwanda and Bakiga I found to be for the most part rigid in the sense that the two tribes do not live side-by-side, but keep to their respective sides of the dividing line. This line is shown on Map 1.2., together with the outline of the Echuya Forest, in which live Batwa pygmies. They were included in the survey, as their language has more in common with that of the Bakiga than Tucker's description of it as a 'debased form of Rwanda' would imply.¹⁵ There is one area where a rigid line is not shown on the map; here, by way of exception, Banyarwanda and Bakiga do live side by side. In the East, the border between them descends to the plain where the Bakiga give



Map 1.2.

- Boundary of long-settled Bakiga
- - - Boundary of Kigezi

way to Banyankore (Bahima) herdsmen in the Ankole District of Uganda and the Ndorwa District of Rwanda.

1.5.2. I took 6 informants to the East of the administrative border between Kigezi and Ankole; 5 of these called themselves Banyankore. The reason for including them was to ascertain whether or not there was any linguistic boundary corresponding to the administrative one.¹⁶ Further North, I took as the Eastern limit of my survey the administrative boundary between Kigezi and Ankole because the Ankole side has received large-scale immigration from Kigezi in recent years,¹⁷ such that no survey of the speech of its inhabitants could reflect anything other than a mixture of forms from different parts of the Rukiga area.

1.5.3. The same applies to the North-West of Kigezi. This area became depopulated due to wild animals and disease, but has been resettled by Bakiga and Banyarwanda from other parts of Kigezi in the years since 1946.¹⁸ The original inhabitants of this area were the Banyabutumbi: I found that two small groups of this tribe still exist and they were included in the survey. One group, at Nyakashure, is surrounded by the new immigrants, but independent of them; the other, at Rwenshama on the shore of Lake Edward, is mixed with Bakiga, Banyankore and Baganda attracted to the place by the profitable fishing. It is not, of course, possible to draw a hard and fast line between the immigrant area and the area of long-established settlement. I did, however, seek, by questioning in the places concerned, to ascertain the north-westerly limit of the long-established area; broken lines on the map indicate this. Apart from the two communities of Banyabutumbi, there are no long-established inhabitants to the North-West of these lines and I therefore took them as the boundary of my survey.

1.5.4. There are recent immigrants in the valley running North-West from Burimbi, but apart from this the area of long-established settlement extends up to the Kayonza and Impenetrable Forests, which form a natural boundary. There is one established community

to the West of the forest, at Kayonza itself; this is included in the survey. On the South-Western corner of the Impenetrable Forest there is a valley which contains some recent Bakiga immigrants, but is otherwise an enclave of the Bahunde tribe, who are found farther West in Zaire in greater numbers.

1.5.5. Within the boundaries described there is one further locality of immigrants. This is around the southern end of the eastern arm of Lake Bunyoni stretching across to its western arm. This area was depopulated after a famine between 1901 and 1904¹⁹ and remained uninhabited until recently. In addition, a certain amount of resettlement is going on in the Kirima Forest at the south-western end of the Mafuga Forest. No informants were taken from these areas.

1.6.1. Bearing in mind the barriers to communication presented by the hills of Kigezi, as described above, I decided that for my survey to be thorough I should need to have at least one informant in every valley. This I achieved and in exceptionally long valleys I took more than one informant. The distribution of my informants is therefore determined by geographical features and not fixed mechanically according to a geometrical pattern as was attempted, for example, by Gilliéron (1902-10) in France.

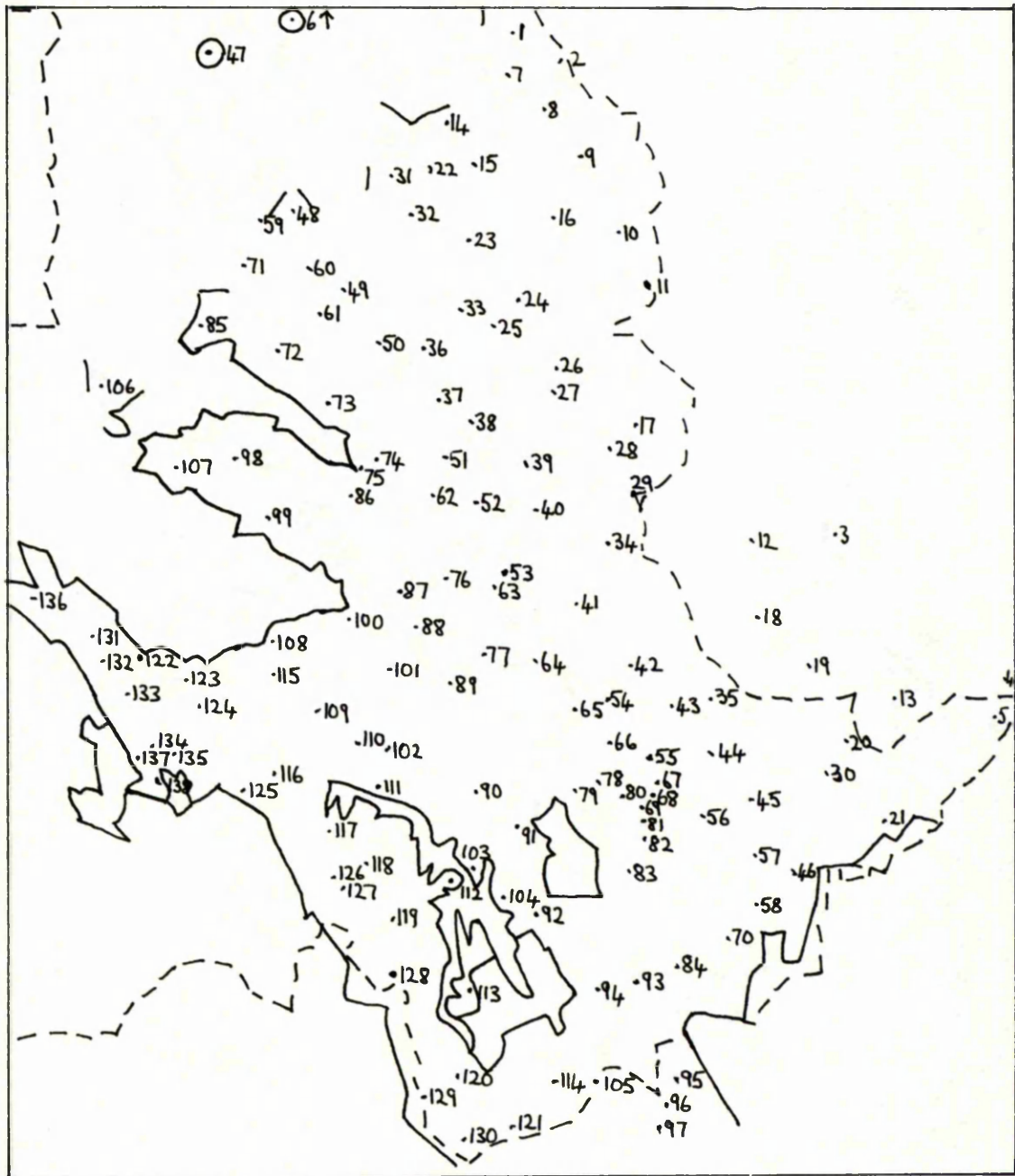
1.6.2. The first task with every potential informant was to win confidence; I had with me a Mukiga to whom this task largely fell.²⁰ When it had been accomplished, I ensured that each informant was at least a second generation inhabitant of the area. I reached on foot the valleys without road access and my presence in remote places tended to attract crowds; each interview was conducted as far as possible alone with the informant, in order to avoid the uncontrolled debate induced by crowds.

1.6.3. It was explained to each informant that I wished to learn the linguistic forms which he himself used, not those

which he heard others use or which he thought to be 'correct.' Where Runyankore forms have already replaced Rukiga ones (see above, 1.4.1.), this would have to be reflected in my material, since I was investigating the present state of Rukiga and not an archaic form of it, but where an older Rukiga form was still in use, I did not want to be told a newer Runyankore form merely because the informant thought that I wanted to 'learn' 'correct' Rukiga. Some energy was accordingly devoted to explaining to each informant exactly what I was after.

1.6.4. The total number of informants thus obtained was 138. Of these, 111 were Bakiga. The remainder was made up of 16 Bahororo, 7 Banyankore, 2 Banyabutumbi and 2 Batwa. The Bahororo were found in Rujumbura Country, that is, the North-East of the total area investigated, part of the former kingdom of Mpororo. There was one exception to this, who was in the extreme South-East of Kigezi, in the area of the border with Kajara County of Ankole District.²¹ Reference has already been made (above, 1.5.2.) to five of the Banyankore; the other two were in Kigezi, but not far from the border with Ankole. The Banyabutumbi have also already been referred to (above, 1.5.3.); likewise the Batwa (above, 1.5.1.). All except three of the informants were in Uganda; these three were in the Rukiga-speaking part of Rwanda and were all Bakiga. In view of the patrilineal system, in which females move away from their homes on marriage while males inherit their father's land, all 138 informants were males.

1.6.5. The numbering of the informants may be seen on Map 1.3. The pattern of the numbering follows the topography and it will be observed that in general the lower numbers are nearer the Runyankore area and the higher numbers are nearer the Kinyarwanda area. Some of the informants are less than a mile apart; the average distance between them is three miles; the absolute maximum (apart from the disconnected Banyabutumbi) is five miles. The density works out at one informant per nine square miles. In terms of population, the density is one informant per 3,305;



Map 1.3.

that is, three informants per 10,000 population. This density is considerably greater than that of surveys which have been made of European countries. For example, Orton and Dieth (1962) cover through nine informants an area the same size as the one I investigated through 138 informants. In terms of population, their density for the same area works out at 0.2 per 10,000 population.²² My areal density is considerably greater than the one informant per fifteen square miles thought ideal by McIntosh (1952) for Scotland. In any dialect survey, it can never be assumed with complete certainty that two speakers who live in the same place will have the same linguistic forms. So it is not possible to say that in a given valley every speaker who has not migrated there from elsewhere uses the same forms as my informant in it. Nevertheless, the influences operating on two persons in the same valley will be the same and the frequent contact between them and complementary isolation from other valleys (see above) combine to form a strong probability that their idiolects will be nearly identical. The high density of my network of informants adds to this probability.

1.7.1. The phonology and morphology which is common to the whole of the Rukiga area is outlined in Chapter 2.²³ It will be seen that there are many items, such as the concord system and the verbal extensions, which remain constant throughout the area. The items of my survey, on the other hand, were chosen because my initial acquaintance with Rukiga showed them to exhibit variations across the area. With a total of 75 such items, it is obvious that only a very small part of each informant's idiolect has been investigated. However, a third of the items relate to systematic features, so that it is possible, for instance, to draw up a phoneme inventory for each informant and to obtain a broad picture of his tense-system. The cases of lexical variation have no systematic importance (although they may have some statistical significance), but for each informant some additional lexical material is provided by the phrases elicited to produce the 75 items.

1.7.2. The formulation of the questions of the survey follows the onomasiological approach pioneered by Gilliéron in France and Wenker and Wrede in Germany and developed by Orton and Dieth in England,²⁴ that is to say, one takes an idea and investigates the linguistic forms used to refer to it. The opposite approach, favoured by Jaberg in Italy,²⁵ which takes a word and investigates the meanings attributed to it, would be difficult to apply in the case of Rukiga dialects because the nature of the difference between them is such that one speaker uses form X, where another uses form Y, and the first speaker does not use form Y, nor does the second use form X. There are, however, some cases in the material (notably items 12, 13, 16, 25, 29, 30 and 31), where a term is used in different senses in different parts of the area}. These cases are fully described below when they occur, notwithstanding the initially onomasiological approach.

1.7.3. In general, then, each informant used one of the forms found in any given item of the survey and not the others. In some cases, however, an informant said that he used two, or even three, of the forms. Whenever this happened, I tried to establish whether the forms had the same meaning for him or whether there was some kind of differentiation between them. The nature of such differentiation, where I found it to exist, is recorded in the material; where two forms are given for one item for one speaker without any further note, he maintained that they were interchangeable for him. A further problem that arose in some instances concerns the offering of a term that was not really being tested; the example of item 57, the word for 'broom', will serve to illustrate this. Some speakers saw the question as seeking [ɛbjéjo] or [ɛbjéjerezɔ] and offered [ɛbjéjo], although they may have used a form [ɛbikondózo] as well. Others offered only [ɛbikondózo] in answer to the question. It is difficult to compare the two groups of speakers because we do not know whether or not the first group use [ɛbikondózo]. What I did was to establish whether the second group used [ɛbjéjo] or [ɛbjéjerezɔ] and then to make a comparison on that basis, with a threefold

possibility of (1) [ɛbjéjɔ] or (2) [ɛbjéjerezo] or (3) neither of these forms. Nevertheless I listed [ɛbikandózo], as a matter of subsidiary interest, when it was offered along with confirmation of the absence of [ɛbjéjɔ] and [ɛbjéjerezo].

1.7.4. In the questioning I had to resolve the methodological problem of whether the answers had to be elicited in the same way from every informant.²⁶ I aimed at uniformity, but did not hesitate to abandon it when common-sense seemed to demand this. For example, if in the initial conversation with an informant before I started to ask questions, he unknowingly used one of the items of my enquiry, I recorded the form that he had used and omitted the question concerning it, in order not to prolong the interview unnecessarily and increase the possibility of an undesirable crowd-situation developing. In view of these and similar cases, no guarantee can be given about the way in which the material was elicited in every instance although in so far as a particular context was an integral part of an item, the necessary features were always checked.

1.8.1. The isolation of the valleys of Kigezi and the absence until the present day of any centralised political structure amongst the Bakiga make Rukiga an exceptionally interesting field of study. The careful selection of informants from those parts of Kigezi where the settlement of the Bakiga is long established and the choice of linguistic items which show variation across the Rukiga area are designed to ensure that a true picture can be built up of the different forms of Rukiga and where they are used. After the general outline of Rukiga phonology and morphology in Chapter 2, the forms that were given for the items of the survey will be considered in Chapter 3, with regard both to the nature of the forms themselves and to their geographical distribution. The latter may be seen on the maps in Appendix B and an index to where each item is treated may be found together with the English translation of the items in Appendix A.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 1

1. These and other population figures are taken from Langlands (1971).

2. There are a few places where settlement occurs on the hilltops. They are made up of the shops of traders at Rutenga (RJ1791: grid references are to the Uganda Government sheet of Kigezi at 1:125,000, Edition 1, 1965), on the summit above Nyamakukuru (SP6992), on the ridge from Nyamiyaga to Mwirwaniro (RJ0772, RJ1068), at Kabaya (RJ1563), at Kacwekano (RJ2862), above Kakooko (RJ2958) and at Rukore (RJ2844); bars on the ridge from the Bahunde area (see 1.5.4.) to Nyabwishenya gombolola headquarters (QJ9182, QJ9479) and on the ridge between Nyabushabi and Hamuyanja (SP6665); forges on the ridge south of Bukora (RJ3154: this is the 'village of blacksmiths' described by White (1969)); and houses above Hamurwa (RJ2478), above Kabimbiri (SP7576), on the border with the Banyarwanda area east of Lake Mulehe (RJ0765) and at Bukimbiri (RJ0369), at Karengyere (RJ1267), on the ridge of Kitoma and Rwenyena (RJ2651, but this is partly the area of recent immigrants south of Lake Bunyonyi mentioned in 1.5.5.) and on the ridge north of Muyumbu (SP7342). Traders, innkeepers and blacksmiths live on hilltops because such a position is advantageous to them in their occupation: a hill separating two valleys is accessible to potential customers from both of them. Those who dwell on hilltops because of their occupation have clearly moved there from elsewhere and were not, therefore, included in the survey. The remaining instances of hilltop habitation are few and represent a minute fraction of the total population of Kigezi. Two informants were taken from the hilltops of the Echuya Forest (RJ1559), where the Batwa (see 1.5.1.) live.

3. For example, there is no break in the hill that runs from Kanyashogy (RJ0389: grid references as note 2) to beyond

the Rwanda border at post No. 21 (RJ2938) or in that which runs from west of Kanungu (RKO402) to Kahondo (SP8257), distances along the ridges of 24 and $26\frac{1}{2}$ miles respectively.

4. The term will not be used at all in the North of the survey-area or in that part of it which is in Ankole District, because in these areas the hill-valley topography is less marked and communication is consequently rather easier.
5. For Rwanda see Vansina (1962). For Ankole see Morris (1962).
6. See Baxter (1960), Bunanuka-Rukara (1972), Denoon (1972a), Edel (1957), Geraud (1972a), Karwemera (1972), Ngologoza (1967), Rwabihigi (1972), and Taylor B.K. (1962).
7. For the Bahororo see Baitwababo (1972a), Baitwababo (1972b), Kakiza (1972), Morris (1955), Morris (1962) and Ngologoza (1967). For the Banyabutumbi see Baitwababo (1972c), Ndebesa (1972), Ngologoza (1967) and Rwankwenda (1972).
8. See Chapter 6.
9. The 138 informants were divided as follows. (Semi-colons separate groups of clans said to be descended from the same woman and holding the same object taboo). Amongst the 111 Bakiga there were Basigi (24, including Babundi (1), Bafuuri (1), Bagina (1), Bahaya (1), Bahiga (3), Bajara (2), Bakungu (2), Bakyaguri (1), Bandari (2), Barunga (1), Bashogi (2) and Batuura (2)), Bagyeri (2), Bahundu (1), Barinda (2), Batimbo (1); Bagabira (6), Banyangabo (3), Basaakuru (3), Bazigaba (5); Barihira (2), Babwiba (1); Bagahe (4 including Bakonjo (1)), Bacuucu (6), Banyakajo (1), Bayundo (1); Bahimba (8), Bakimbiri (7); Basyaba (2), Bagara (1); Bakongwe (4); Bagyeoyo (2), Bazobiki (3); Bahinda (1); Bungura (7); Bahima (1); Basinga (3); Batambara (1); Bazirakwaga (1); not revealing clan (8).

Amongst the 16 Bahororo there were Bagahe (1), Basingo (1); Bashambo (2), Basyaba (2); Bahinda (1), Bahingo (1), Baitira (2); Bateizi (2); Bahira (1); Banyari (1); not revealing clan (2). Amongst the 7 Banyankore there were Bagoma (1), Bahima (1), Bahinda (1), Bashambo (2), Basinga (1), not revealing clan (1). Amongst the 2 Banyabutumbi there were Barihiira (1), not revealing clan (1). The 2 Batwa did not reveal clan.

10. The most widely used textbook for teaching reading is van Spaandonk (1951). At a higher level Hawes (1965) is used.
11. The Bible was followed by a Protestant Prayer-Book in 1966 and other religious literature, for example, Prentice (1967).
12. Details of the amount of broadcasting time and other statistics of the official use of Runyankore-Rukiga will be found in Ladefoged, Glick and Cripser (1971).
13. Its recommendations may be seen in detail in Taylor C. (1960).
14. Van Spaandonk (1951) (see note 10) even has as its title a form which is not used over the greater part of the Rukiga area: 'Ninshoma' (A present actual tense: see 3.14.5-7). The same applies to Prentice (1967) (note 11): 'Nootoora Guuha?' (again a present actual tense).
15. Quoted in Bryan (1959).
16. There was reason to suppose that there would be no such correspondence. This part of Ankole has historical ties with the North-East of Kigezi rather than with the rest of Ankole. At the beginning of this century, Rugarama, who was ruling the area, refused to accept the overlordship of Ankole.
17. See Ngologoza (1967).

18. See Ngologoza (1967) and Purseglove (1950).
19. The Bakiga call this famine 'Rwaramba'. Ngologoza (1967) gives its date as 1908; Jack (1914), as 'some years before' 1910; Rwandusya (1972a), as 1905; Karwemera (1972), as 'after the Batwa invasion', which he does not date. Rwabihigi (1972) speaks of a drought 'Rwaramba' occurring just before the arrival of the Europeans at the turn of the century and then of a famine 'Mushorongo'. Karwemera uses both the names, but Geraud (1972a) gives 1897 for 'Rwaramba' and 1904 for another famine 'Mishorongo'. My dates of 1901-1904 are from my own researches and are established relatively by questions on the famine, pygmy raids and the coming of the Europeans.
20. I had had two years experience of Rukiga by living and working three miles from Kabale. I was therefore able to talk freely with my informants and I put the questions to them myself. Many suspected at first that I was a surveyor or an inspector of taxes; it is obvious that a Mukiga could explain my purpose with greater insight into his hearer's likely reactions and hence with greater tact than I could.
21. Kamurari, who ruled the Bahororo in the early eighteenth century (see 6.2.6. below) gained control of Kajara and took a wife from there. His successor, Kahaya, was born there and it is from him that the Bagina, who later ruled South-West Kajara, claim descent. The presence of a Muhororo in South-East Kigezi is thus explained.
22. Kigezi has an area of 1,902 square miles. That part of it covered by the survey (see 1.5.) is 1,135 square miles, to which are added small parts of Rwanda and Ankole District, making a total of 1,250 square miles. The population of Kigezi is 642,000; the population of the survey-area is 456,100. The comparison with Orton and Dieth refers to Wiltshire, which has an area of 1,345 square miles and had

at the time of their survey a population of 422,753.

23. Little has previously been written about Rukiga as such. Morris and Kirwan (1957), in a work expressly on Runyankore, make footnote references to Rukiga, but there are many Runyankore examples which would not be acceptable in Rukiga and to which no footnote is appended. So far as dictionaries are concerned, Davis (1952) has Runyankore with no reference to Rukiga, while Taylor C. (1959) does contain a good number of Rukiga words and refers to Rukiga in his introductory notes. However, some Rukiga words do not appear and in such cases only a Runyankore form is given. Loire (1963), in a religious vocabulary for the Roman Catholic Church, makes only a handful of references to Rukiga and leaves many Runyankore words without their Rukiga equivalents.

24. For the data of these surveys see, respectively, Gilliéron and Edmont (1902-10), Wrede (1926) and Orton and Dieth (1962). For interpretative studies see, respectively, Gilliéron and Roques (1912) together with Gilliéron (1918), Bach (1950) and 'Studies in Honour of Harold Orton' (1969).

25. For the data of this survey see Jaberg and Jud (1928). For interpretative studies see Jaberg (1936).

26. Jaberg and Jud (1928) and Pop (1950) said they should be; Bottiglioni (1954) used several arguments against the position of those linguists and McIntosh (1952) thought informality and rapport more important than any rigid technique.

2. RUKIGA PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR

2.0. This chapter, while based on the Rukiga that is spoken over an area extending for several miles to the north-west, west and south-west of Kabale,¹ aims to give a broad idea of what is common to Rukiga throughout its area, to show where within that common core problems of interpretation arise and to indicate in what phonological and grammatical matters there is variation across the area.

2.1. Phonology: Vowels

2.1.1. The monophthong vowel sounds of Rukiga are, in a narrow transcription:

i i: ɔ u:
e e: o o:
ɛ ɛ: ɔ ɔ:
a a: ɑ:

The pairs [a,a:], [ɛ,ɛ:] and [ɔ,ɔ:] may each be allocated to single phonemes, the second member of each pair being an allophone which occurs with falling tone before nasal compounds. The pairs [i,i:] and [ɔ,u:] are different: the first member of each pair does not occur before nasal compounds, while the second member does, but the two members are not otherwise in complementary distribution. We may say that within morphemes the opposition between the two members is neutralised before a nasal compound, while at morpheme juncture a morphophonemic change takes place: thus [ɛzi+ndɪ] gives [ɛzi^hndɪ] 'others.'

2.1.2. Since in the case of [i,i:] and [ɔ,u:] the relationship between length and quality is a consistent one, the first in each pair being always short and the second in each pair always long, we may conveniently transcribe the pairs phonemically as /i,i:/ and /u,u:/. Such a relationship does not apply in the case of the other vowels. [a,ɛ,ɔ], normally short, are lengthened before nasal compounds, becoming [a:,ɛ:,ɔ:], not [ɑ:,e:,o:]. (There is neutralisation in this position, since [a:,ɛ:,ɔ:] appear before nasal compounds, while [ɑ:,e:,o:] do not.²) In addition, [e:,o:], normally long, appear as [e,o] at the end of words, not as [ɛ,ɔ].

There are three possibilities for phonemic transcription:

- (i) /a,a:,e,e:,o,o:/, short/long pairs, with the allocation of phones to phonemes dependent on length. Then [entáre] 'lion' (item 46 of the survey) appears as /entáre/, with the realisation rules that /e/ initially stands for [ɛ] and /e/ finally stands for [e].
- (ii) /a,a:,e,e:,o,o:/, short/long pairs, with the allocation of phones to phonemes dependent on quality. Then [entáre] appears as /entáre:/, with the realisation rule that /e:/ finally stands for [e].
- (iii) /a,a,ɛ,e,ɔ,o/, representing quality. Then [entáre] appears as /entáre/, with the realisation rule that /e/ finally is short, not long as it is elsewhere.

Possibilities (i) and (ii) are typographically convenient, but it is difficult to produce phonetic forms from the phonemic transcription. Possibility (iii) is the solution adopted here.

2.1.3. There is a nasal vowel in [ɛ̃:ɟu] 'house' (item 22). This is best transcribed as /ɛ̃ɟu/, the nasal vowel being a free variant of vowel+[n]. The vowel is long when followed by a nasal compound (see above, 2.1.1.) and retains its length when nasalised.

2.1.4. The sound [ɟ] is found in some varieties of Rukiga. It may be regarded as a member of the /i/ phoneme, occurring between consonants when tonally unmarked. It is the subject of item 6 of the survey (see 3.9.8.).

2.1.5. The monophthong vowel sounds of Rukiga are therefore reduced to ten phonemes /a,a,ɛ,e,i,i:,ɔ,o,u,u:/. Where phonetic transcription is used in this work, a broader transcription will generally be used than that in 2.1.1., employing only the following symbols:

[i	i:		u	u:
	e		ɔ		o
	ɛ	ɛ:		ɔ	ɔ:
	a	a:		ɑ]

2.1.6. When monophthong vowels meet at morpheme juncture, certain

morphophonemic fusions take place. The diphthong [ei] results from /ai, ai:, ai:, ei:/; some speakers have [ai, ai:], however, and they are considered in item 9 of the survey (see 3.9). Apart from the cases in which [ei] is found, /a/ is lost before a following vowel and /a/ is separated from a following vowel by a glide [j]. /i/ becomes [j] before a vowel, except that /iiV/ becomes [i:jV], /ii:/ becomes [i:] and /CiV/ becomes [CV] where C is an affricate. The phonetic nature of [j] is the subject of item 7 (see 3.7.2.). /u/ becomes [W] before a vowel, except that /buV/ becomes [bgV]; this last case has many variants across the area, which are examined in item 4 (see 3.7.4-5)³. The same changes occur at word juncture, except that the final vowel of a noun phrase is lost before a relative verbal prefix.⁴

2.1.7. [ei] occurs within morphemes for all speakers and is to be regarded as an independent phoneme /ei/. [ai] occurs within morphemes for some speakers, but is a free variant of /ei/.

[ɔi] occurs within morphemes for some speakers and is a separate phoneme for them /ɔi/; it is the subject of item 8. All these matters are considered below in 3.9.

2.2. Phonology: Consonants

2.2.1. The consonant sounds of Rukiga are:

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			k g	
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Continuant			r				
Affricate				tʃ dʒ			

Certain additional velar and uvular sounds occur. They have allophonic status and are considered in 3.7. The consonants [b, t, m, n, p, f, v, h, r] constitute phonemes /b, t, m, n, p, f, v, h, r/. Other consonants call for comment.

2.2.2. The oppositions p:b and t:d operate only after nasals. Elsewhere opposition in front plosives is confined to b:t.

[d] is usually the realisation of /r/ after /n/, but it also occurs in loan-words like [ɛdatʃiːka] 'minute'. It would be difficult to find minimal pairs to demonstrate that [d] constitutes a separate phoneme, because the number of such loan-words is small and their form often otherwise incomparable with indigenous words. It is necessary, though, to set up a phoneme /d/ to avoid ambiguous representations: a form /eratʃiːka/ would be realised as *[eratʃiːka] and cannot, therefore, be admitted. Similarly, [p] is usually the realisation of /h/ after /n/, but it occurs in loan-words like [pitʃipitʃi] 'motor-cycle'. A representation of this word with /h/ would be wrongly realised and it is accordingly necessary to set up a phoneme /p/.

2.2.3. Intervocally [m, n, ɱ] are in contrast. Before a consonant, the nasals are in complementary distribution, the articulation of the two elements in the nasal compound being homorganic. Since [ŋ] does not occur intervocally, it can be regarded as an allophone of /n/; the three nasals which do occur intervocally constitute separate phonemes. The limitations on the occurrence of nasals within morphemes have their counterparts in the morphophonemic rules applying when nasals meet consonants at morpheme juncture. Thus /nb/ becomes [mb] and /np/ (loan words only) becomes [mp]. In addition, /nh/ becomes [mp], /nr/ becomes [nd] and /nm/ becomes [m]⁵.

2.2.4. There are some words in which [z] always appears, e.g. [Kuzâra] 'to give birth', some in which [ʒ] always appears, e.g. [ʒubazûba] 'quickly', and some in which some speakers use [z] and others [ʒ], e.g. [ɔmubeizi/ɔmubeiʒi] 'carpenter', [ɔmuzigêiʒo/ɔmuzigêiʒo] 'first-born child'. There are no minimal pairs in which the substitution of [z] for [ʒ] alters the meaning of a form.⁶ In this sense there is no distinctive opposition between [z] and [ʒ].⁷ Within the language as a whole, that is, between individual speakers, [z] and [ʒ] may be said to substitute "freely" for one another: they are free variants.⁸ It remains true that if we transcribe every case of [z] and [ʒ] as /z/, the phonetic form actually given by the informant is lost. For

this reason, the transcriptions /z/ and /ʒ/ have been given in this work.

2.2.5. The pair [s] and [ʃ] display the same features of occurrence as [z] and [ʒ]. Items 5, 12 and 13 in the survey illustrate [s] and [ʃ]. (See below, 3.5.). Some speakers have a minimal pair in which the substitution of [s] for [ʃ] produces a different meaning. For them, clearly, /s/ and /ʃ/ must be set up as separate phonemes. For the remainder [s] and [ʃ] are transcribed as /s/ and /ʃ/ so that the actual forms spoken can be readily deduced from the phonemic representation given.

2.2.6. A small group of speakers have [ts], which must be considered a separate phoneme /ts/ for them, because of minimal pairs with the opposition [s]:[ts]. This is the subject of item 1. (see below, 3.5. 16-19).

2.2.7. Minimal pairs with the opposition [k]:[tʃ] are to be found: there are, therefore, two phonemes /k/ and /tʃ/. [g] and [dʒ], on the other hand, are in complementary distribution within morphemes: [dʒ] occurs before [e,e,i,i:,ei] and [g] before the other vowels. [g,dʒ] are, therefore, members of a single phoneme /g/. The relation of this group of sounds is more complicated, however, at morpheme juncture and is discussed fully, with examples from items 2,3 and 11, in 3.2. below.

2.2.8. The consonant phonemes of Rukiga are, therefore, /p,b,t,d,k,g,m,n,ŋ,f,v,s,z,h,r,tʃ/ for all speakers, together with /ts/ for a few. /ʃ/ is a clearly separate phoneme for some, but for all speakers /ʃ,z/ are distinguished in phonemic transcription, regardless of the phonemic status or otherwise that might be argued for these two phones.

2.3. Phonology: Tone

2.3.1. Three tones are contrasted on the medial syllable

of the following words:

[ɛnkɔːmbe.˨˩.] 'dove' has a falling tone;

[ɛnkɔːmbe .˨˩.] 'millet porridge' has a high tone;

[ɛnkɔːmbe ...] 'protruding forehead' has a low tone.

The use of a longer vowel in the first word is an allophonic matter (see 2.1.1. above) and the difference between the three words resides solely in the tones. There is, therefore, a three-term system of suprasegmental phonemes. The phoneme of falling tone may be marked /˨˩/; that of high tone, /˨˩/; that of low tone is zero-marked.

2.3.2. The tonal features of words are subject to changes of a grammatical kind dependent on the surrounding words. Where in the present work words are quoted in isolation, the tone given is that used when the word is in isolation; when a sentence is quoted, the tone-marks show the tones used in the sentence.

2.3.3. The addition of a bound form to a free one has a strong tendency to produce high tone on the penultimate syllable of the new compound form, to the suppression of the tonal characteristics of the free form in isolation. Thus [gâːmba] 'speak' appears in the present habitual tense (see below, 2.5.1.), where the suffix /-ga/ is used, as [ngambága] 'I speak'. The tonal change sometimes carries with it a change of vowel quality: [ntakagarutʃíre] 'before I returned', but [ntakagarutʃirému] 'before I returned in' i.e. 'before I answered'. The change [a>ɛ], on the other hand, in pairs like [ɔraza] 'you are going' and [ɔrazáhe] 'where are you going?', is quite different. Since the pair [gâːmba], [ngambága] given above show no change [a>ɛ], it would appear that [a] in [ɔrazáhe] is conditioned by the following glottal consonant, a case of assimilation.⁸ The feature of high tone on a penultimate syllable occurs in item 14 (see 3.14. 1-4), item 37 (see 3.36. 2-3) and elsewhere in the survey. One further example may be given here: [akangambirá ɣgu] 'he told me that ...' shows [ɣgu] 'that' behaving as a bound form (an enclitic) rather than as a free form.

2.4. Morphology: The Concord System

2.4.1. Nouns in Rukiga fall into classes distinguished by prefixes called 'class prefixes'. The class prefix is preceded by an initial vowel.⁹ All words relating to a noun agree with it through their own 'concord' prefixes, which vary somewhat according to the kind of stem to which they are added. Noun classes fall into pairs in which one member appears as a singular number and the other as a plural. Such pairs may be called genders. Thus:

/ɔmubũmbi/(Class 1) 'potter'; /ababũmbi/Class 2) 'potters'.
 /ɔmufozi/(Class 3) 'hill' ; /ɛmifozi/(Class 4) 'hills'.
 /etɕiári/(Class 7) 'nest' ; /ɛbiári/(Class 8) 'nests'.
 /ɛngáhi/(Class 9) 'paddle' ; /ɛngáhi/(Class 10) 'paddles'.

The Class 1 and Class 3 prefixes for nouns are identical, but those used with some types of dependent words are not; it is on the basis of the prefixes found in dependent words in agreement with /ɔmubũmbi/ and /ɔmufozi/ that these forms are assigned to separate classes. The same principle applies in the assignment to Classes 9 and 10. The complete list of genders is 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11/10, 12/13, 14/6 and 15/6. There is in some parts of the area a gender 9/6, the distribution of which is investigated in item 22 of the survey (see 3.20.5). The gender 12/13 is commonly used for diminutives. The prefixes associated with each class may be identified in Table 2.1. In Class 5 two prefixes are given: /ɛri-/ is used before a stem beginning with a vowel; /ei-/ before a consonant. The two forms given for Classes 9 and 10 appear with different stems in different parts of the area: examples may be found in items 47, 53, 60, 67 and 68 (see 3.60.). Variants are found of the Classes 1,3,7,8 and 9 noun prefixes; they are examined below, in 3.20. 6-9.

2.4.2. Table 2.1 shows after the noun prefixes the prefixes used with dependent forms, that is to say, those forms whose prefix is determined by that of the noun to which they relate. An example may be given to show prefixes (and an infix) at work. 'You have seen my new village' is rendered in Rukiga by beginning

Class number

Nouns

/-o/ (emphatic stem); /-ona/ 'all'; /-ʌnka/ 'only'; /-ʌmbi/ 'both'; /-ange/ 'my'; /-aue/ 'your' (singular); /-e/ 'his, her'; /-eitu/ 'our'; /-ʌniu/ 'your' (plural); /-abo/ 'their' /-a/ 'of'; /-ndi/ 'other'. Also with /-ange/ etc. and /-a/ when these are used substantively.

Adjectival stems. WHERE NO ENTRY, AS /-o/ etc

/biri/ 'two'; /-ʌtu/ 'three'; /-na/ 'four'; /-tano/ 'five'. WHERE NO ENTRY, AS /-o/ etc.

/-ngahi/ 'how many?' WHERE NO ENTRY, AS /-o/ etc.

Verbal stems for a non-relative subject; /-mue/ 'one'; /-ri:ia/ 'that' (far from speaker); /-ti/ (introducing direct speech); /-sio/ 'thus'; /-ta/ 'how?'; /-ha/ 'who? which?'; WHERE NO ENTRY, AS /-o/ etc.

Verbal stems for a relative subject; /-mue/ 'some'. WHERE NO ENTRY, AS /-ndi/.

Without stem = 'that' (near to speaker); /-o/ 'that' (not seen, but previously referred to). WHERE NO ENTRY, AS /-ndi/.

Without stem = object pronoun infix. WHERE NO ENTRY, as /-o/ etc.

Without stem = relative pronoun for indirect relatives. WHERE NO ENTRY, as /-ndi/.

1	ɔmu	u	ɔu	mu			a	ɔ	ɔgu	mu	
2	aba	ba	aba								abu
3	ɔmu	gu	ɔgu	mu							
4	ɛmi	i	ei	mi		zi	e	e	ɛgi	gi	
5	ei, ɛri	ri	ɛri								
6	ama	ga	aga	ma	a	a					agu
7	etʃi	tʃi	etʃi								
8	ɛbi	bi	ɛbi								
9	ɛn, e	i	ei	n			e	e	ɛgi	gi	
10	ɛn, e	zi	ɛzi	n	i						
11	ɔru	ru	ɔru								
12	aka	ka	aka								aku
13	ɔtu	tu	ɔtu								
14	ɔbu	bu	ɔbu								
15	ɔku	ku	ɔku								
16	aha	ha	aha								ahu

TABLE 2.1.

Notes to Table 2.1.

The following are anomalous throughout the area.

/-mue/ in Class 1 is /ɔ̣mue/;

/-rí:ia/ in Class 1 is /ɔ̣rí:ia/;

/-ndi/ in Class 1 is /ɔ̣ndi:ɔ̣/;

/ndi/ in Classes 4 and 9 is /ɛndi:ɔ̣/;

/-o/ (emphatic stem) in Class 1 is /ue/;

the Classes 1,4 and 9 prefix for a non-relative subject before the tense infix **[a]** (see 2.5.1.) is **[ɔ̣-]**;

the Class 1 prefix for a non-relative subject for verbal stems beginning with a vowel other than **[i:]** is **[aɔ̣-]**; for a relative subject this becomes **[ɔ̣ɔ̣-]**;

the Classes 4 and 9 prefixes for both kinds of subjects for verbal stems beginning with a vowel other than **[i:]** are **[aɔ̣-]**;

the Class 10 prefix becomes **[(ɛ)z-]** before a vowel. (This fact has to be stated at this point because /ziV/ = **[zV]** is not a realisation rule in other forms.)

with the noun 'village' and giving each subsequent word a prefix (or infix) in agreement with the prefix of the noun.

Thus

/etfi-aro	tʃi-ânge	tʃi-sia	mia-tʃi-reba/
'village	my	new	you have seen'

Certain of the stems given in the column headings of the table have variants: the variants of /-sio/ 'thus' are examined in item 40 (see 3.41.5-7); those of /-ha/ 'who? which?' in item 48 (see 3.48.); those of /-ʒnka/ 'only' in item 26 (see 3.26.); those of /-o/ 'that' (not seen, but previously referred to) in item 42 (see 3.41.3-4). Some variants are also found in the prefixes: item 20 examines the Class 10 prefix for adjectival stems (see 3.20.1.); item 21 examines the Class 10 prefix for verbal stems (see 3.20.3-4); variants in Class 8 are noted in 3.20.7; the Class 9 object pronoun infix is examined in item 11 (see 3.2. 6-7); further brief references to prefix variants are made in 3.20.6. and 3.20.8.

2.4.3. Verbal stems, together with /-ti/, /-sio/, /-ta/ and /-ha/ admit of additional prefixes /n/ 'I' ([ɲ] before [ɛ,e,i:]), /ɔ/ 'you' (singular) ([w] before the tense infix [a]; [ɛ]) before verbal stems beginning with a vowel other than [i:]), /tu/ 'we' and /mu/ 'you' (plural). Verbal stems alone have corresponding infixes /n/, /ku/, /tu/, /ba/.

2.4.4. There is a group of 'personal nominals' which belong to the same substitution class as the (prefixed) emphatic stem /-o/, although they are dissimilar in form. They are /ɲoue/ 'me', /i:ue/ 'you' (singular), /i:tue/ 'us', /i:mue/ 'you' (plural). Like the prefixed emphatic stem, these personal nominals can be used after the copulas /ni/ and /ti/ (see below, 2.6.1.) and after /na/ 'and, with' and /nka/ 'like'. Thus:

[bo] /ba-o/ 'them'; [nibo] /ni ba-o/ 'it's them'; [nabo] /na ba-o/ 'with them'.
 [i:mwe] /i:mue/ 'you'; [ni:mwe] /ni i:mue/ 'it's you';
 [neimwe] /na i:mue/ 'with you'.

The forms from /ɲoue/ 'me' are not regular: [ni:ɲe] 'it's me'; [noɲe] 'with me'.

2.5. Morphology: The Verbal System

2.5.1. It has already been seen that verbal stems operate within the concord system. Their concord prefix corresponds to the 'subject' of traditional grammatical analysis. Table 2.1. shows that verbal stems take two kinds of concord prefix, one for a non-relative subject and one for a relative subject in direct relative constructions, that is to say, when the prefix is in agreement with the antecedent (including when there is no explicit antecedent in the meaning of 'he who, those who' etc.). Between the concord prefix (which may be called the 'verbal prefix') and the stem, verbs admit a group of infixes, which are tense-markers. In some parts of the area the prefix and stem appear without any infix in a 'present habitual' meaning: this is investigated in item 14 (see 3.14.1-4). For some speakers there is a tense-marker occurring before the verbal prefix in a 'present actual' meaning: this is investigated in item 15 (see 3.14.5-10). In general, however, the tense-markers are infixes, although there are also a couple of suffixes. Thus, for example, with the Class 1 verbal prefix and the stem /gâmba/ 'say, speak':

- [agambága] /a- -gâmba-ga /'he speaks'
 [aragâ:mba] /a-ra -gâmba /'he is speaking'
 [atʃágamba] /a-tʃa -gâmba /'he is still speaking.'

All roots which are verbal stems have an additional form called the 'modified root', which is used in certain tenses.¹⁰ The tense-markers are as follows:

Tense ¹¹	Form
Present Habitual	-ga
Present Actual	-ra-
'Still'	-tʃa-
'Never'	-ka- -ga
Imperfective	(modified root)
Perfective	-a- (modified root)
'Yesterday' Past	-a- (modified root)
Near Past	-a-
Far Past	-ka-

Dependent form ¹²	-ra-	(modified root)
'not Yet'	-ka-	(modified root)
Near Future	-rei ³ aku-	
Far Future	-ria-	
Dependent form	-ri-	
Conditional	-ka-	(modified root)
'If' Dependent form ¹³	-ra-	-e ¹⁴
Subjunctive		-e

There are variant forms in the present habitual (item 14, see 3.14.1-4), present actual (item 15, see 3.14.5-10), 'still' (item 17, see 3.14.11-14), 'yesterday' past (item 16, see 3.16.1-3) and far past (item 18, see 3.16.4-5) tenses and in some cases there is no opposition present habitual: present actual (see 3.14.9) and no opposition 'yesterday' past: far past (see 3.16.4.).

2.5.2. The 'never' and 'not yet' tenses given above always appear with the negative affix, which is [ti] before a consonant and [t] before a vowel, added before the verbal prefix, for main verb forms, and /ta/, added between the verbal prefix and the tense infix for dependent verb forms. The negative affix may be used with the other tenses, thus

[ʔaragamba] /t-a-ra-gamba/ 'he is not speaking'.

There are variant forms of the negative prefix (item 19: see 3.19.1-4) and of the negative infix (item 23: see 3.19.5-7). The negative far past and far future tenses use the infixes given above under 'dependent form.'

Besides a concord prefix, verbal stems have optionally one or two concord infixes, appearing after the tense infix. An example was given above, in 2.4.2. In traditional terminology the concord infixes represent 'object pronouns', but the example shows that they are used more widely than that term might imply.

After the root (or tense suffix, if any) there may be added an enclitic, such as /tʃi/ 'what?', /ho/ 'at it', /io/ 'there', /mu/ 'in' and /he/ 'where?' (Variants of the last form are in item 36: see 3.36.1.). Thus:

[ʔaragambátʃi] /a-ra-gamba-tʃi/ 'what is he saying?'

The root itself may be extended to give certain derived meanings. Examples may be given of five types.¹⁵

Type	Root	Meaning	Extended root	Meaning
Causative	ʃóma	read	ʃom-és-a	teach
Prepositional	téka	cook	tétʃ-er-a	cook for (somebody)
Stative	reba	see	reb-ek-a	appear
Reciprocal	kúnda	love	kúnd-an-a	love one another
Passive			kúnd-u-a	be loved

The infix /-e-/ gives a reflexive meaning. Thus:

[ndétetʃera] /n-ra-e-tétʃ-er-a/ 'I cook for myself'

The verbal stem can appear as a noun in Class 15, corresponding to the 'infinitive' in traditional terminology. Thus:

[ɔkugâmba] /ɔku-gâmba/ 'to speak'.

This infinitive form appears also with the negative infix, concord infixes, enclitics and extensions.

2.5.3. Compound tenses for continuous and repeated action are formed by using the appropriate tense of /ba/ followed by the present actual and present habitual, respectively, of the verb required. Other tenses are also possible in the main verb to give finer shades of meaning.

2.5.4. There are two stems which take only one tense-marker, /tʃa/, or appear with no tense-marker. These are /ri/ 'be' and /í:ne/ 'have'. They take a concord prefix, the negative prefix and infix and enclitics. /í:ne/ may also have a concord infix.

2.6. Other Forms

2.6.1. There are some forms, relatively few in number, which never take affixes, for example /ʃaná/ 'probably'. The positive copula, [n] before a vowel and [ní] elsewhere, belongs to this group. Thus:

[ɛbjoníbo] /ɛbi-o ni bi-o/ 'those are the things'.

Unlike the other two forms in the example, the copula has no concord prefix. The same applies to the negative copula /ti/ (of which variants are shown in item 41: see 3.41.1.).

NOTES ON CHAPTER 2

1. In terms of the areas outlined in Chapter 3 and shown on Map 3.1., this is Area 7. It is centred around the market village of Karukara.
2. Item 39 of the survey has, however, a form [ɲe:nsákare].
3. The morphophonemic changes may be given as twelve rules, with examples.
 - (i) /av/ → [V] e.g. /n+ka+ga+ênda/ → [nkagê:nda] 'I wanted it.'
 - But (ii) /ai/ → [ei] e.g. /a+ha+í+ómero/ → [aheí+ómero] 'at school.'
 - And (iii) /ai:/ → [ei] e.g. /a+ka+í+za/ → [akeí+za] 'he came.'
 - (iv) /aV/ → [aV] e.g. /n+a+ênda/ → [naɣê:nda] 'I wanted.'
 - But (v) /ai:/ → [ei] e.g. /n+ɬa+í+ne/ → [ntɬéine] 'I still have.'
 - (vi) /ei:/ → [ei] e.g. /e+í+ne/ → [éine] 'it has.'
 - (vii) /iV/ → [iV] e.g. /bi+ɔ̃mbi/ → [bɔ̃mbi] 'both.'
 - But (viii) /iiV/ → [i:V] e.g. /mu+ri+io/ → [muri:jo] 'you are there.'
 - And (ix) /ii:/ → [i:] e.g. /a+bi+í+ne/ → [abíine] 'he has them.'
 - And (x) /Aff.iV/ → [Aff.V] e.g. /n+a+ɬi+ɔ̃mbeka/ → [natɬmbeka] 'I built it.'
 - (xi) /uV/ → [wV] e.g. /n+a+gu+ênda/ → [nagwê:nda] 'I wanted it.'
 - (xii) /buV/ → [bgV] e.g. /n+a+bu+ênda/ → [nabgê:nda] 'I wanted it.'
4. These terms are explained in 2.4 and 2.5. An example: /abântu+abarareba/ → [abant abárareba] 'people who see.'
5. Four more morphophonemic rules may be given.
 - (xiii) /nb/ → [mb] e.g. /e+n+bu:zi/ → [embu:zi] 'goat.'
 - (xiv) /nh/ → [mp] e.g. /n+ha+ga/ → [mpága] 'I give.'
 - (xv) /nm/ → [m] e.g. /a+ra+n+maɲa/ → [aramaɲa] 'he knows me.'
 - (xvi) /nr/ → [nd] e.g. /ka+n+reba+e/ → [kandebe] 'let me see.'
6. There is a root [-bâ:nza] 'be first' and another [-bâ:nɲa] 'piece of land'. Since the former is a verb and the latter, a noun, the prefixes (see below, 2.4.1.) applied to the two roots will generally be different. The noun normally appears as [ɛtɬibâ:nɲa]. Some speakers have a present tense (see 3.14.2)

which could allow [etʃibâ:nza] 'which is habitually first.' For these speakers [etʃibâ:nza] and [etʃibâ:nza] might seem to constitute a minimal pair, although the possibility of the two forms occurring in the same environment is remote. It is conceivable in phrases like [etʃi:ntw etʃibâ:nza] 'the matter of the piece of land' and [etʃi:nt etʃibâ:nza] 'the matter which is first', where the first element in each case is phonemically the same, /etʃi:ntu/. However, the majority of the informants form their present habitual tense such that 'which is habitually first' is [etʃibanzága] and there is accordingly no opposition to [etʃibâ:nza], so no minimal pair.

7. It is, of course, debatable whether the presence or absence of minimal pairs is sufficient grounds for making an assessment of the phonemic status of the two sounds involved. Many linguists would argue that contrast, commutation or proportionality procedures will establish phonemes sufficiently and that the possibility of differentiation in minimal pairs is too dependent on chance. However, the fathers of both the structuralist school and the distinctive feature school in phonology, Bloomfield and Trubetzkoy respectively, emphasise minimal pairs. The "minimum unit of distinctive sound-feature" of Bloomfield (1935), while initially established by a substitution procedure, appeals to minimal pairs in cases of difficulty: [θai]:[ʃai] for English /θ/:/ʃ/ phonemes. Trubetzkoy (1939) declines to set up two German sounds as separate phonemes "weil es im Deutschen kein einziges Wortpaar gibt, das durch diesen Lautgegensatz differenziert würde." His first rule for phoneme determination is that if two sounds occur in the same position and can be interchanged without altering the intellectual meaning, then they are facultative variants of a single phoneme. There are examples of the interchange of [z] and [ʒ] in items 22, 34, 60 and others (see 3.5.14.) of the survey; in none of them does the change from [z] to [ʒ] alter the meaning of the words concerned. Nothing new is understood by the hearer of the substituted sound. Jones (1950) in his definition of the phoneme defined a speech-sound as a range of sounds such that replacement of one by another does not alter

the identification of a word. [z] and [ʒ] constitute one speech-sound within the terms of that definition. Harris (1951) writes of members of a phoneme which "substitute freely for one another"; if not within the speech of one individual speaker, at least within Rukiga as a whole [z] and [ʒ] may be said to substitute "freely" for one another. The situation with these two sounds fits exactly the definition of 'free variation' given by Lyons (1968): "Two phonetically different units occur, but do not contrast, in the same environment: that is to say, the substitution of one for the other does not produce a different word, but merely a different 'pronunciation' of the same word."

8. Finally there is no opposition *ɛ:e*, but medially there is. When a vowel that is normally final becomes medial through the addition of a suffix like [-mu], its shortness is preserved by a change of quality, thus [e>ɛ]. (If there were no such change of quality, since final [-e] is short (see above, 2.1.2.) and medial [-e-] is long, there would be a change of length.) The same explanation holds for [o>ɔ] in pairs like [turjaho] 'we are here' i.e. 'we are well' and [turjahódʒe] 'we are here well' i.e. 'we are very well'. Whereas [e>ɛ] and [o>ɔ] have a short vowel remaining short but being lowered, [a>a] shows a short vowel becoming longer and further back. (If *ɛ/e* and *a/a* were taken as short/long pairs (see above 2.1.2.), then in fact the two changes are opposites.) The fact that [a] in [turjáho] does not revert to [a] when it is no longer in the penultimate syllable in the form [turjahódʒe] confirms the idea that [a>a] is a case of assimilation to the following consonant, although in other places [a] does appear before [h].
9. Nouns always have the initial vowel except in a vocative expression, in a dependent infinitive (but second and subsequent infinitives do have the initial vowel) and after /aha/ 'on', /ɔmu/ 'in', /buri/ 'every', /-ndi/ 'other' or a demonstrative when these are placed before the noun for emphasis, a negative verb and a compound formed of the copula /ni/ and the emphatic

stem. When normally dependent forms are used substantively, they add the initial vowel to their class prefix, but drop it in the same circumstances as nouns. The dependent forms capable of such usage are adjectival stems, together with /-áŋge/, /-áue/, /-e/, /éítu/, /ániu/, /-ábo/, /-a/, /-ndi/, /-mue/ (the last only in the plural). (For their meanings, see Table 2.1.)

10. Modified roots are formed from simple roots in a number of different ways. The most common is to change the final /a/ of the simple root to /ire/. When this is done some preceding consonants are also changed: /k/ becomes /tʃ/, /nd/ becomes /nz/ and /t/ becomes /s/. (Variants of the modified root for simple roots ending /nda/ are examined in item 73: see 3.16.6.) Simple roots ending in /za/ and /ra/ are particularly complicated in the ways they form modified roots. (Variants of the modified root for simple roots ending in /era/ are examined in item 74: see 3.16.7.)
11. Usually the terms 'imperfective' and 'perfective' are used to refer to aspects and 'subjunctive' refers to a mood. While one may wish to distinguish tense, mood and aspect at the semantic level, it is not necessary to do so at the structural level since the markers concerned are formally comparable. The label 'near past' is not wholly satisfactory: this tense is used to refer to actions which have happened since the previous day and to actions which are about to happen; it is also used to replace the far past tense for the second and subsequent verbs in a narrative.
12. The dependent form of the verb is used after /ɔbu/ 'when', /nka ʒku/ 'as', /ku/ 'when', /ahábue éntʃi/ 'why?' (variants of this are examined in item 38: see 3.38.), forms of /ba/ 'be' making a compound tense (see 2.5.4.), /ni/ + /-o/ 'it is + it, them etc.', a relative pronoun and a verbal prefix which has the initial vowel; to express 'while', 'so that' (purpose) and 'that' ('object noun clause', but not after /ngu/ 'that'); with the 'not yet' tense to express 'before' and 'without'.

13. The 'if' tense-marker must be considered a dependent form because in a negative it is used with the negative infix, never with the negative prefix (see 2.5.2.).

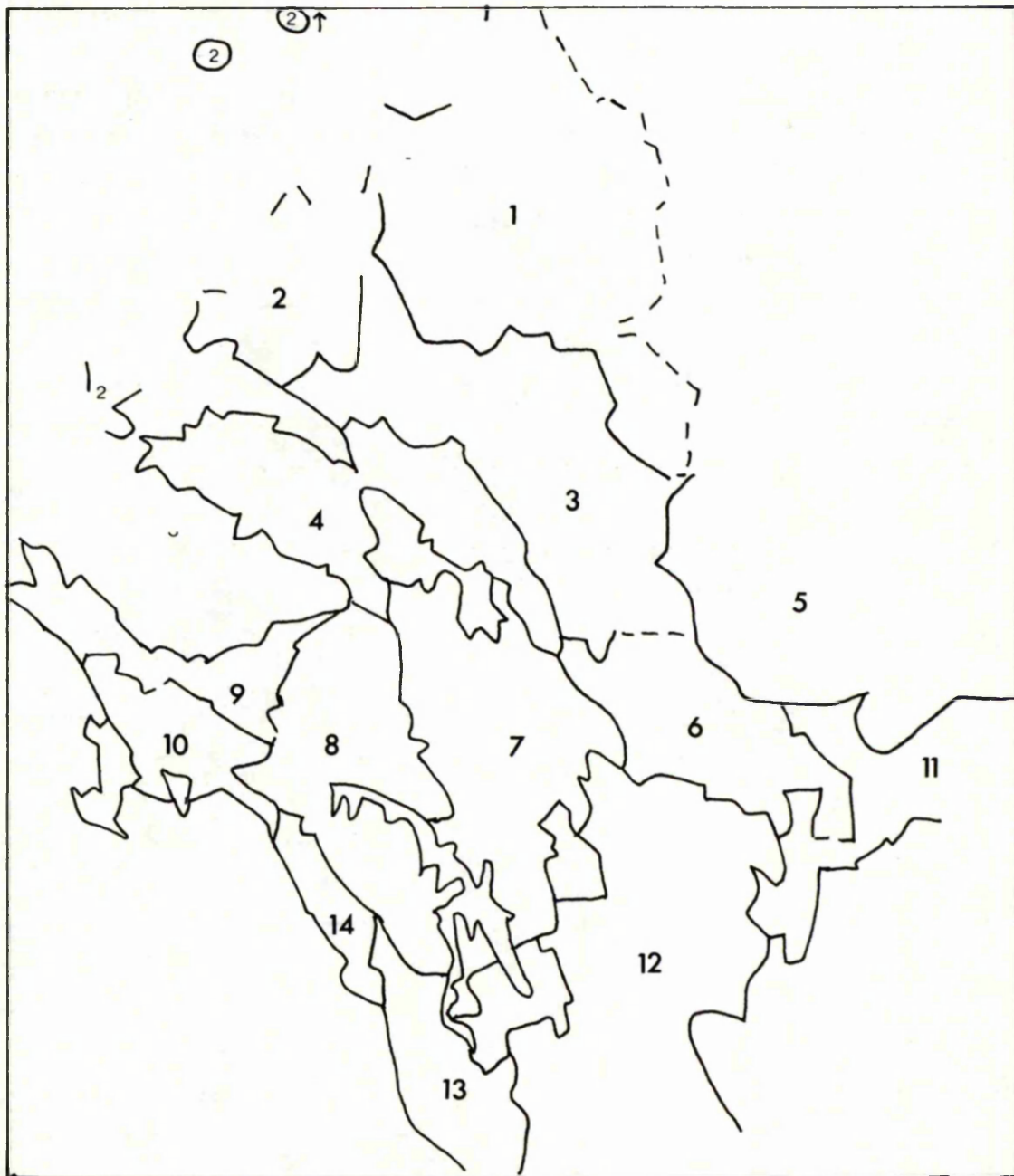
14. The verbal ending /-e/ is common in Bantu languages. Other writers have treated /-a/ and /-e/ in the languages they have been describing as parallel morphological suffixes. Applied to Rukiga, [-gâ:mba] would then be said to consist of /-gâmb-a/ and [-gâ:mbe] of /-gâmb-e/. My analysis of Rukiga is different. Applying the morphophonemic rule /æ/ → [e] (see above, 2.1.6.), I analyse [-gâ:mbe] as /-gâmba-e/, which allows me to call /gâmba/ a root. It should be noted that with this analysis, verbal roots may be said to appear without any affix: [gâ:mba] 'speak' is an imperative. We may, therefore, distinguish verbal stems from nominal stems in two ways: the former have the potentiality of a group of infixes, tense-markers, occurring between the prefix and the stem and can appear as free forms without any prefix; nominal stems cannot take the tense-marker infixes and cannot occur without any prefix.

15. The causative verbal extension takes a number of different forms; most common is /-Vs-/. The prepositional extension is /-Vr-/.; the stative extension is /-Vk-/. In these extensions a form of vowel harmony operates: /V/ is /i/ when the vowel in the simple verb is /a, ɒ, i, i:, u, u:/, but /e/ when the vowel in the simple verb is /ɛ, e, ɔ, o/. In all cases /k/ in the simple verb becomes /tʃ/. The reciprocal extension is /-an-/. The passive extension is /-u-/, except after /s, z/ when it is /-ibu-/. The extended verb roots have modified roots (see Note 10 above), whose endings are substituted for the ordinary extended endings, except that in the passive type the extension /-u-/ operates on the modified root of the simple verb. (This is illustrated below in 3.50.8.)

3. THE ITEMS OF THE SURVEY

3.0.1. Having looked at Rukiga in general, we turn now to the items which were elicited from the 138 informants across the Rukiga area. We shall consider both the nature of the various forms given and their distribution among the informants; the latter may be seen in the maps also. Some of the items are treated individually, but more commonly they fall into groups and all the items in each group are then treated together. Appendix A gives the English translation of each item, refers briefly in the phonetic and morphological items to the point at issue and shows in which section of the present chapter each item is treated. For simplicity, the section numbers used in this chapter correspond to the first item in each group treated. Thus there is no section 3.3. and no section 3.11., but items 2, 3 and 11, which are treated together, appear in section 3.2.; items 5, 12, 13 and 1 are treated in section 3.5. and so on.

3.0.2. Phonetic transcription is used throughout the treatment of the first thirteen items, where the points at issue are phonetic ones. Phonetic transcription is also used for forms given by the two Batwa informants (see 1.5.1.), because their language differs so much from that of the rest of the area that it is not certain whether the same phonological analysis would apply, my material being insufficient to determine this conclusively. There are a few other cases of phonetic transcription, when the distinction being drawn demands it. Otherwise phonemic transcription is employed. In this nouns are referred to by their stem, preceded by a number to indicate the class prefix used (see 2.4.1.). A class number followed by a dash means that the class prefix is not used (but the noun can be allocated to the given class on the basis of the agreements it controls in dependent stems). So /⁹táre/ means a stem /táre/ with the usual initial vowel and class prefix for Class 9 nouns, thus /entáre/; /⁹-sandú:tse/ means a stem /sandú:tse/ with the Class 9 initial vowel, but no class prefix, thus /esandú:tse/. The lack of a tone marking on monosyllabic stems implies a high tone on the class prefix, except in Classes 9 and 10. So /⁶sa/ corresponds to a phonetic form [amása].



Map 3.1.

3.0.3. Reference is made throughout this chapter to fourteen areas. These were delimited on the basis of the isoglosses which can be drawn on the maps. Every informant is allocated to one of the areas, which, it must be emphasised, were set up for convenience of description only. While no two areas contain all the same forms as each other in the items of the survey, it is not held that the fourteen areas represent fourteen different dialects. The question of dialect division is dealt with at length in Chapter 5. The areas are shown on Map 3.1.; it will be seen that they are all geographically continuous, with the exception of Area 2, which takes in the two communities of Banyabutumbi remaining in the resettlement area (see 1.5.3.) and the long-established community at Kayonza west of the forest (see 1.5.4.).

3.0.4. Maps showing the distribution of the forms found in each item are contained in Appendix B. The numbering of the maps corresponds to that of the items. The keys to the maps may serve as summaries of the forms. A reference in this and subsequent chapters to 'Map 2' or 'Map 15' means to the map of that number in Appendix B; when referring to a specific item of the survey, a reference to 'the map' means to the map for that item in Appendix B.

3.2. [g], [dʒ], [k], [tʃ] (Items 2, 3, 11)

3.2.0. In Runyankore the pairs [g, dʒ] and [k, tʃ], the second member of each pair with a palatal pronunciation, exist alongside a quite separate [tʃ]. In Rukiga, [dʒ] and [tʃ] are not articulated so far forward, so that there is a single [tʃ] sound in the language. The phonemic analysis of the group of sounds nevertheless presents problems. In this section the distribution of the sounds will first be examined, to determine what phonemes are involved. Then, the evidence of Items 2 and 3, concerned with the occurrence of the sounds at morpheme juncture, will be presented and interpreted in the light of the contention that there are three phonemes /g/, /k/ and /tʃ/. Item 11, showing variation between [dʒ] and [j], will then be treated.

3.2.1. Within morpheme boundaries [g] and [dʒ] are in complementary distribution: [g] occurs only before /a, ɔ, o, u, u:/, while [dʒ] occurs only before /ɛ, e, i, i:, ei/ (apart from the case of [bgV], for which see 3.7.4.). It is therefore proposed that [g] and [dʒ] be taken as allophones of a single phoneme /g/. This proposal must be tested at morpheme juncture, where there is an apparent contrast between [g] and [dʒ]. 'I wanted it', referring to a Class 9 noun, is [nɔdʒɛ̂:nda]; 'I wanted it', referring to a Class 6 noun, is [nagɛ̂:nda]. Using a single phoneme /g/, we may say that the first form represents /nɔ+gɪ+ɛ̂nda/ (/gɪ/ = [dʒɪ], but Affricate+ɪ+Vowel becomes Affricate+Vowel: see 2.1.6.); the second form represents /nɔ+ga+ɛ̂nda/ (/aV/ = [V]: see 2.1.6.). Since in the first form [ɪ] is lost and in the second [a], the phonetic difference between the two forms is restricted to the different realisations of /g/. As the phonemic representations of the two forms are not identical, though, the principle that [dʒ] and [g] constitute a single phoneme is not undermined. A further example may be given. [ɛdʒo] 'that' (not seen, but previously referred to), with a Class 9 prefix, represents /ɛgɪ+o/: the rules already referred to produce the juxtaposition of [dʒ] and [o], but this occurrence does not invalidate the proposed single phoneme /g/.

3.2.2. The pair [k] and [tʃ] might be expected to be a parallel case with [g] and [dʒ]. In fact, [k] never appears before /i, i:/ . Both [k] and [tʃ] appear before /a, e/, but in these examples analysis into morphemes as above might allow us to retain the notion of complementary distribution: [ke] 'his' (Class 12) could be seen as /ka+e/ and [ka] 'of' (Class 12) as /ka+a/, while [tʃe] 'his' (Class 7) could be seen as /ki+e/ and [tʃa] 'of' (Class 7) as /ki+a/, with a rule /kiV/ = [tʃV]. Transcriptions like /ɛkiitabo/ for [ɛtʃitabo] could be avoided by a further rule, /kiC/ = [tʃiC], producing /ɛkitabo/. Such rules could be defended for the examples given so far in as much as they preserve a parallelism in the concord prefix system. There are, however, minimal pairs where the application of the rules is a rather unwarranted device. Thus we find [kû:nda] 'love', [tʃû:nda] 'make ghee' and [ɛtʃitʃô:ntʃo] 'present', [ɛtʃikô:nko] 'maize-cob without corn'. It would be possible to write /kû:nda/, /kiû:nda/ and

so on, but it would be forcing the material into a preconceived pattern. It would also necessitate the two new rules given above, where in 2.1.6. there is only one rule, namely Affricate+i+Vowel becomes Affricate+Vowel, which serves for both [tʃ] and [dʒ]. It is simpler and more satisfactory to set up /tʃ/ and /k/ as separate phonemes.

3.2.3. Item 2 shows alternation between [k] and [tʃ] at a morpheme boundary. The form elicited is the subjunctive of [hika] 'arrive' with a Class 2 prefix, so 'let them arrive', used in a sentence like 'We want them to arrive'.¹ Some speakers gave the ending [-ke] and others [-tʃe]. Both forms occurred throughout the Rukiga area, although in the North-West [-tʃe] was rare. [-tʃe] (a forward articulation) occurred in three cases and this is the form heard in Runyankore. For those speakers who use [tʃe] (or [tʃe]) we cannot set up a rule /kae/ → [tʃe], since they have [ke] 'his' for /kate/; we must therefore say that the morpheme {hika} has two allomorphs, /hika/ and /hitʃi/, the latter being used before /e/. (If we were to take [hik-] as the root - see Chapter 2., note 14 - the problem would not be changed: we should have to say {hik-} has two allomorphs, /hik-/ and /hitʃ-/.)

3.2.4. Item 3 shows alternation between [g] and [dʒ] in a similar position. The form elicited is the subjunctive of [hiyaga] 'cultivate' with a Class 1 prefix, so 'let him cultivate', used in answer to 'What do you want your son to do?'.² Some speakers gave the ending [-ge] and others [-dʒe]. (/n/ before the former was realised as [ŋ] : see 2.2.3.) Both forms were found throughout the area, except that across the centre from East to West there was a belt in which only [-ge] occurred. This means that [-dʒe] can be described as occurring in two separate discontinuous areas - one in the North and one in the South. Such a distribution would suggest that it is a retreating form which once covered the whole area, but is now giving way to [-ge]. One might expect that those speakers who had [-ke] in Item 2 would have [-ge] in Item 3, with a similar correspondence of [-tʃe] and [-dʒe]. This was so for the majority of informants, but by no means all. There were thirteen cases of [-ke] and [-dʒe]

given by the same informant and twelve cases of [-tʃe] and [-ge] together. This tends to confirm that a change is taking place involving these forms (with accompanying temporary uncertainty over which to adopt) and, in synchronic terms, lends weight to the view that there is not a neat parallelism between the two pairs of sounds, a parallelism which we have denied by setting up /g/ as a single phoneme but /k/ and /tʃ/ as two.

3.2.5. For those speakers who use [-dʒe] we cannot set up a rule /gae/ → [dʒe], since they have [ge] 'his' (Class 6) for /gate/; we must therefore say that the morpheme {hî:ŋga} has two allomorphs, /hî:ŋga/ and /hî:ŋgi/, the latter being used before /e/. (If we were to take [hî:ŋg-] as the root, the situation becomes more complicated because the phonetic sequence [-ge] for those who use it is not then explicable by the loss of /a/. The failure to realise /ge/ as [dʒe] across morpheme boundaries could be dealt with tidily only by a phonology which allowed the morpheme as its unit of description.)

3.2.6. Item 11 is the object pronoun infix of Class 9, elicited in the context [ente na~reba] 'the cow I saw it', i.e. 'I saw the cow'. (For this construction see 2.4.2.) The most common form is [dʒi], which is a regular reflex of Guthrie's (1970) starred form *[jɪ]. The Runyankore reflex is [dʒi] (forward articulation) and this is also found in isolated instances in the North of the Rukiga area and again in two cases in the West. Elsewhere in the West the Kinyarwanda reflex [ji] is common: in the remote areas North of the Impenetrable Forest it is the sole form; it is found as far North as the Banyabutumbi village represented by informant 47; and it is scattered in the South-West. If [j] is assigned to the phoneme /i/, [ji] is the realisation of /ii/ (see 2.1.6.). Where [ji] is used, the form [nadʒɛ:nda], given above in 3.2.1., becomes [najɛ:nda] and this is phonetically identical with the verb without any object pronoun infix, since /aɛ/ is realised as [aɛ]: [najɛ:nda] is thus the realisation of both /nta+ɛnda/ and /ntatii+ɛnda/. This 'loss' of the infix [ji] applies, of course, only before verb-stems beginning

with a vowel. It may be compared with the similar loss in [aramaɲa] 'he knows me', realising /a+ra+n+maɲa/, but also the realisation of /a+ra+maɲa/ 'he knows' (/nm/ = [m] :see 2.2.3.)

3.2.7. One informant, no. 13 in the East, gave [gi]. Clearly what has been said of the realisations of /g/ does not apply to him and an analysis of his phonology would depend on a larger body of material than I have, for he also has the sequence [dʒi], as in his [akaʒadʒiro] (Item 45) and [nú:ndʒi] (Item 20). It seems that in his case [dʒ] and [g] must be regarded as separate phonemes, since they can both occur in the same environments even within morpheme boundaries.

3.2.8. For all other informants the analysis stands that [dʒ] and [g] are members of a single phoneme, while /tʃ/ and /k/ are two phonemes. Since /tʃ/ is the only affricate proposed to have phonemic status (apart from /ts/ for a very small group of speakers: see 3.5.17), it might be questioned whether it could not be treated as a sequence of two phonemes. It is not to be so treated on both phonetic and distributional grounds. The two sounds involved are in 'close transition' in their articulation and their duration is not greater than that of a one-consonant phoneme. The distribution of [tʃ] is parallel to that of single-consonant phonemes: for example, the Class 7 concord prefix [etʃi] or [tʃi] has as its plural counterpart the Class 8 prefix [ebi] or [bi]. /tʃ/ is, therefore, a single phoneme.

3.5. [s] and [ʃ] (Items 5, 12, 13, 1 and others)

3.5.0. There are in Rukiga a number of words in which some speakers use [s] and some [ʃ]. Item 5 is one such word. Items 12 and 13 are further examples, which are of interest for the phonemic status of the sounds: the two words are identical apart from the sound [s] or [ʃ]; those speakers who have [s] in one word and [ʃ] in the other have a minimal pair which establishes the phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/. Items 12 and 13 will be studied also as examples of the avoidance of

homonymy. There are further items which exhibit [ɪ] and [ʃ] as alternatives and this aspect of them will be treated in this section, together with items which exhibit [z] and [ʒ] as alternatives. Item 1 will then be dealt with: this is a word in which most speakers have [s] while a few have [ts]. Finally, reference will be made to the analysis of the sounds involved by Guthrie (1970).

3.5.1. There are a number of words in which Runyankore has [s], Kinyarwanda has [ʃ] and Rukiga has [s], for example, 'thank': Runyankore [si:ma], Kinyarwanda [ʃi:ma], Rukiga [si:ma].

3.5.2. When followed by vowels other than [i, i:], there is a correspondence between Luganda [s], Runyankore [ʃ], Kinyarwanda [s] and Rukiga [ʃ], for example, 'ask': Luganda [saba], Runyankore [ʃaba], Kinyarwanda [saba], Rukiga [ʃaba].

3.5.3. There are, however, some cases in which both [s] and [ʃ] appear in Rukiga, for example, 'forge': Luganda [we:sa], Runyankore [hɛ:ʃa], Rukiga [hɛsa] and [hɛʃa]. Item 28 of the survey (see 3.28.) has the stems [-sozi] and [-ʃozi] 'hill'. These correspond to Luganda [-sozi], Runyankore [-ʃozi] and Kinyarwanda [-sozi].

3.5.4. Item 5 is a phrase used before asking a riddle. A cognate form in Runyankore has [ʃ] and one in Kinyarwanda [s]. In Rukiga both sounds are found. The two main forms are [sakusâku] and [ʃaku ʃâku]. (Similarly, there are two forms of the reply of the person who is willing to attempt to answer the riddle: [sâmbadzira] and [ʃâmbadzira].)

3.5.5. [ʃ] is found in the North-East and East (Areas 1 and 5) and again in the South-West (Areas 9, 10 and 14). There are a few isolated examples of [ʃ] (informants 75, 86, 106, 107, 121) in remote parts of the large area of [s], which, together with the peripheral nature of the areas of [ʃ], would suggest that this sound is the older of the two in the Rukiga area.

3.5.6. There are a number of words in which Runyankore has [h], Kinyarwanda [ɸ] and Rukiga [h], for example, the stem 'cooking stone': Runyankore [-hɛga], Kinyarwanda [-ɸiga], Rukiga [-hɛga]. In Item 2 of the survey there occurs the verb 'arrive'. Runyankore has [hika] and Rukiga [hika], with the exception of one informant, who gave [ɸika]. This is interesting because Kinyarwanda uses a different root for 'arrive', so, although the informant concerned was one of the Batwa on the border of the Kinyarwanda area, his form could be a result of Kinyarwanda influence only by way of analogy from other Kinyarwanda forms and seems more likely to testify to an independent development. In Item 44, informant 137 by the Kinyarwanda border gave a stem [-ɸi:mbo] for the usual Rukiga [-hi:mbo] 'bean'; Kinyarwanda has here [-ɸi:mbo].

3.5.7. An association between [h], [ɸ] and [s] is found also in Item 64, the term for 'paddle' (see 3.64. for other aspects of this item). Runyankore has a stem [-gasja] and Kinyarwanda [-gaɸa]. Rukiga has several forms: [-gási] appears in the North-East and [-gási] in the South-West, while between them lies a large area of [-gáhi]. (The back vowel in the last form shows assimilation to the glottal consonant: see 2.3.3.) Three informants had [-gáɸi].

3.5.8. There are some stems in which both Runyankore and Kinyarwanda have [ɸ], for example, Runyankore [-ɸéreka], Kinyarwanda [-ɸéreka] 'woman's milk'. In this term Rukiga not surprisingly also has [ɸ]: [-ɸéreka]. Item 12, however, is a term in which both Runyankore and Kinyarwanda have [ɸ], while Rukiga shows both [ɸ] and [s]. It is the word for 'peas', elicited in the context /ɔrahinga/ 'you cultivate' and in the plural because of the unnaturalness of referring to a single pea. It will be seen from the map that it is impossible to delimit a specific area in which the stem [-sáza] is used and another in which [-ɸáza] is used. South and West of Lake Bunyonyi (Areas 8, 12, 13) [s] is predominant, but elsewhere the two forms are thoroughly mixed. Item 13 is the word for 'counties', elicited by naming the county in which the informant lived and another neighbouring one. Items 12 and 13 are considered together because for many informants they are the same, while for others they differ only in the

opposition of [s] to [ʃ]. The two stems for 'counties', [-sáza] and [-ʃáza], are mixed throughout the Rukiga area in their geographical distribution; in the analysis of the data by clans, however, it was found that all the Bahimba have [-sáza].

3.5.9. It is equally impossible to delimit areas in which there is an opposition of [s] to [ʃ] and in which the word for 'counties' is homonymous with that for 'peas'. The cases of opposition seem strongest in a belt running North to South across Lake Bunyonyi from informants 89 and 101 in Areas 7 and 8 to informants 121 and 130 in Area 13, but there are also many cases of the opposition elsewhere. This opposition is sometimes in the form of [amasáza] for 'peas' and [amaʃáza] for 'counties' and sometimes in the form of [amaʃáza] for 'peas' and [amasáza] for 'counties', each time with a Class 6 prefix. In either case [s] and [ʃ] must clearly be regarded as separate phonemes, since they are here in a minimal pair, being the sole differentiating feature between the two terms.

3.5.10. The question of whether those speakers who use [amasáza] for both 'peas' and 'counties' and those who use [amaʃáza] for both have one phoneme or two, given that both these groups have no other cases of minimal pairs in which the use of one sound or the other affects the meaning of the terms in which they occur and given that both groups have [s] and [ʃ] as in 3.5.1. and 3.5.2. above, raises theoretical considerations which are discussed in 2.2.4., with notes, and 2.2.5. While the notation employs /s/ and /ʃ/, there are good grounds for considering [s] and [ʃ] as free variants of a single phoneme for these groups of speakers.

3.5.11. There are alternative ways of avoiding homonymy between 'peas' and 'counties'. In Area 14 [amadʒére] or [amazére] is used for 'peas' and the stem [-ʃáza] is thus left free for 'counties'. Informants 15 and 18 show another solution: they assign 'counties' to Class 6, but 'peas' to Class 14, while having the same stem for both terms, thus [amaʃáza] 'counties' and [ɓuʃáza] 'peas' for informant 15 and [amasáza] 'counties' and [ɓusáza] 'peas' for informant 18. These

two speakers are in the two areas nearest to Runyankore (Areas 1 and 5): in that language Class 14 is used for diminutives in the plural (where Class 13 is normally used in Rukiga). The relevance of the diminutive idea to 'peas' is obvious, but a diminutive prefix is normally applied to an object which is smaller than usual rather than to something intrinsically small. It is perhaps possible for this principle to be extended in the interest of avoiding homonymy.

3.5.12. The term for 'county' comes from Luganda [amasáza]. In Runyankore the Luganda form became [amafáza] and it is conceivable that this is the version which reached Rukiga. It seems more probable, however, that the original Luganda form went straight to Rukiga as the first administrators under colonial rule in Kigezi were Baganda (see 3.49.3. for references). Granted that, there are four groups of speakers whose forms have to be interpreted.

- 1) Speakers who have [amafáza] 'peas' and [amasáza] 'counties'. Since they used the former for 'peas', the Luganda form for 'counties' could be taken over as it stood without any resultant homonymy.
- 2) Speakers who have [amafáza] 'peas' and [amafáza] 'counties'. They used [amafáza] for 'peas' and assimilated the loan-word to the word already in their language.
- 3) Speakers who have [amasáza] 'peas' and [amasáza] 'counties'. They used [amasáza] for 'peas' and adopted the Luganda form as it stood notwithstanding the resultant homonymy.
- 4) Speakers who have [amasáza] 'peas' and [amafáza] 'counties'. They used the former for 'peas' and changed the Luganda form. This may have been done simply in order to avoid homonymy, but it seems more likely that they were aware that Luganda [s] corresponds to Rukiga [ʃ] (see above, 3.5.2.). The change from [amasáza] 'counties' to [amafáza] could have been made on the analogy of examples of this correspondence.

3.5.13. The above four interpretations all assume that whatever term a group of speakers used for 'peas' (when the Luganda loan-word was acquired) remained constant. It is obviously extremely unlikely that the established word for 'peas' would be changed to "accommodate" a loan-word for 'counties'. It is possible, though, that there was

a certain amount of change between [s] and [ʃ] in the word for 'peas', brought about by the confusion created by the appearance of the loan-word for 'counties'. Since before the introduction of this loan-word there was no distinctive opposition between [s] and [ʃ] (see 3.5.10. above), such change seems quite probable. (The question of homonymy does not arise for informants inside the political boundary of Rwanda, since that country does not use the county as an administrative unit.)

3.5.14. Since some speakers who have [s] where the great majority have [ʃ] also have [z] where the great majority have [ʒ] and some speakers who have [ʃ] where the great majority have [s] also have [ʒ] where the great majority have [z], it seems sensible to discuss these cases under one heading. Table 3.1. groups together the cases given by the nine informants most prone to this kind of variation. There are a few other examples of the alternation of this group of sounds, which may be seen on the maps. In particular, three further informants have [s] for [ʃ] in Item 55: nos. 6, 95 and 137. Table 3.2 analyses the responses by showing for each of the informants the number of cases he had of each type of alternation and adding his particular response in Items 5, 12 and 13.

3.5.15. It is clear from Table 3.2. that informants 18, 19 and 47 have a marked preference for [s,z] over [ʃ,ʒ] and that informants 126 and 127 have a marked preference for [ʃ,ʒ] over [s,z]. Informants 14, 107, 136 and 138 present a mixed bag of responses, showing at the same time a tendency to [ʃ,ʒ] and a tendency to [s,z]. It is noteworthy that all the informants being considered here are on the periphery of the Rukiga area: 18 and 19 are in the extreme East (Area 5); 126, 127, 136 and 138 are in the extreme South-West (Areas 9, 10 and 14); 14 and 47 are in the extreme North-West (Areas 1 and 2); 107 is in the extreme West (Area 4). The responses of informants 18 and 19 are contrary to the forms found in Runyankore, to which language they are adjacent. (Informant 18 actually called himself a Munyankore.) Informants 126 and 127, who in many other respects exhibit Kinyarwanda features and are adjacent to the Kinyarwanda area, here move away from the Kinyarwanda forms. Informants 136 and

Table 3.1.

Item No.	More normal form	For	Giving	Form given	Informants									
					14	18	19	47	107	126	127	136	138	
20	-zi:za (Kiny.)	z	ʒ	-zi:dʒa						X				
		z	ʃ	-ʃe:ʃa								X		
22	-zu(Kiny-zu)	ʒ	z	-zu		X							X	X
34	-mwebázo	z	ʒ	-mwebázo					X				X	
35	-kóze (Kiny.)	z	ʒ	-kóze						X				
39	ʃensákare	s	ʃ	ʃensákare										X
43	-i:ʃtʃi	ʃ	s	-i:stʃi		X	X						X	
45	-soko (Kiny.)	s	ʃ	-ʃoko								X		
49	sábi:ti	s	ʃ	ʃábi:ti					X			X		
55	-ʃandú:tʃe	ʃ	s	-sandú:tʃe	X		X		X					
	-ʃandú:ko	ʃ	s	-sandú:ko					X				X	X
56	-hi:sa	s	ʃ	-hi:ʃa	X									
57	-kondózo	z	ʒ	-kondózo								X		
60	-ʒére(Kiny.-ʒ-)	ʒ	z	-zére			X							
	-ʒérere	ʒ	z	-zérrere	X								X	
61	-ʃa	ʃ	s	-sa			X	X						
	-ʃe(Kiny.-se)	ʃ	s	-se										X
62	-ézi	z	ʒ	-ézi								X		
63	-áfuri	ʃ	s	-ásuri	X									
68	-ʃú:ndwe	ʃ	s	-sú:ndwe			X							
	-ʃú:ndo	ʃ	s	-sú:ndo	X									

Kiny. = Kinyarwanda

Table 3.2.

Inf. No.	For s giving f	For z giving 3	For f giving s	For 3 giving z	For z giving f	Item 5*c	Item 12	Item 13
14	1	-	3	1	-	f	s	f
18	-	-	1	1	-	s	s	s
19	-	-	4	1	-	s	s	s
47	-	-	2	-	-	s	s	s
107	1	1	1	-	-	f	s	s
126	-	2	-	-	-	f	- ^x	f
127	2	2	-	-	1	f	- ^x	-
136	-	1	2	2	-	s	f	f
138	1	-	2	1	-	s	s	f

^x Different root used: see 3.5.11.

138, however, in those items where comparisons can be made, move towards the Kinyarwanda forms (with one exception). What are we to make of all this? The occurrence of fluidity between [s] and [ʃ] on the periphery indicates that a change is taking place which involves these sounds and at the present time there exists uncertainty as to which sound should be used in specific cases. It has already been suggested that [ʃ] is retreating and [s] is advancing (see 3.5.5. above). In the forms considered in 3.5.14. the replacement of [ʃ] by [s] is indeed more frequent (15 cases) than the opposite change (5 cases). It is not unusual to find an innovation adopted more completely on the periphery of an area than in the centre where it springs from, because in the centre more frequent contacts slow the process of change. There is also the possibility, stronger on the periphery (which looks to the centre in administration and so on) than in the centre itself (which does not look to the periphery), of hypercorrection. Because a prestige speaker uses [s] for [ʃ] in one term, the informant may tend to use [s] for [ʃ] in all terms in which he hears [ʃ].

3.5.16. There are some words in which Runyankore has [tsi], Kinyarwanda has [si] and Rukiga has [si], for example, 'leave': Runyankore [tsíga], Kinyarwanda [siga], Rukiga [síga]. The affricate [ts] does not normally appear in Rukiga. To investigate its occurrence the word for 'hope' was Item 1 of the survey. It was elicited in the context [ɲi:n~] 'I have'. (Informant 137 had [mfi:t~], the Kinyarwanda form for 'I have'.)

3.5.17. All informants used a Class 6 prefix and the vast majority had a stem [-sko], but four gave [-tsiko]. Two of these were inside the border of Ankole District (nos. 4 and 13) and one was in a valley that runs into Ankole District (no. 24); these three have clearly merged with Runyankore, which has [-tsiko]. The remaining informant with [-tsiko] was no. 137 on the Kinyarwanda border. Kinyarwanda does not use this stem, but [ts] does occur in some other Kinyarwanda forms.

3.5.18. Where [ts] occurs, it must be regarded as a separate phoneme because of the existence of pairs like [háʃa] 'the place has burnt'

and [hâtsja] 'it has become fine' or [jasî:nda] 'he became drunk' and [jatsi:nda] 'he roared like a lion'. These normally fall together as [hâsja] and [jasî:nda].

3.5.19. The form [-sko] is of phonetic interest in that it apparently exhibits a consonant combination unusual in Bantu languages, which are characterised by their lack of consonant combinations other than affricates and nasal compounds. Clearly the evidence of comparative Bantu studies is that [-sko] is from an older [-siko]. This is confirmed by the distribution of the three informants who gave [-siko] - no. 99 in the extreme West and nos. 96 and 129 in the extreme South - and the one informant who gave [-sîko] - no. 115 in the West -, all of them on the periphery of the Rukiga area. The [i] is also found in all the cases of [ts] referred to above and in the solitary example (informant 126, again on the periphery) of [-tsîko]. Informant 127 had [-fko]: cf. 3.5.14,15 above.

3.5.20. The table of forms in 3.5.14 above included [-i':stfi], given by three informants, showing the sequence [-stf-]. In that item, no. 43, there occurs also a stem [-i':stfi], showing the sequence [-stf-]. The Runyankore form is [-i:fitfi], with [i] between the consonants in careful pronunciation, but in that language there is a tendency for short vowels to be elided between unvoiced consonants. Five of my informants had a vowel, but in each case long and with high tone: three gave [-i:î':tfi] and two had an added feature of diphthongisation, giving [-ei:î':tfi]. There were no cases, however, of short [i] between [f] and [t]. It would seem that, since the five cases of [i:] were with a single exception in remote areas, it represents the oldest form, while [i] could have been an intermediate stage between it and the complete loss of the vowel.

3.5.21. Some light may be shed on the alternations featuring [s,ʃ,h,ts] by the comparative studies of Guthrie (1970), who distinguishes a number of patterns of correspondences which are reflected in the data we have been considering. Guthrie gives full data for Luganda, Runyankore and Kirundi (closely related to Kinyarwanda) and some supporting data for Kinyarwanda, but none for Rukiga. We

may add Rukiga forms from the evidence given above.

See	Luganda	Runyankore	Kinyarwanda	Rukiga	Common Bantu
3.5.1.	si	si	ʃi	si	*ci ₃
3.5.2.	s	ʃ	s	ʃ,s	*c
3.5.6.	si	hi	ʃi	hi, si, ʃi	*pi ₃
3.5.8.		ʃ	ʃ	s,ʃ	
3.5.16.	ti	tsi	si	si	*ti ₃

The addition of the Common Bantu column does not imply that Guthrie gives Common Bantu stems in all the meanings cited above, but simply that on the basis of some forms with consistent correspondences between Bantu languages the Common Bantu forms are proposed. Thus Guthrie has no stems cognate with those given above for 'ask', 'forge', 'hill' or 'bean', but these stems in Luganda, Runyankore and Kinyarwanda have the same correspondences as those in other forms on the basis of which Guthrie makes his analysis.

3.5.22. The case of 'paddle' (Item 64, see above, 3.5.7.) is particularly interesting. Guthrie suggests a Common Bantu *[-gápi₃], of which Runyankore [-gasja] and Kinyarwanda [-gaʃa] are 'skewed shapes'. The Rukiga forms [-gási, -gáʃi, -gáhi], however, are true reflexes of the Common Bantu form. [-gáʃi] is akin to the form which would result from a regular development in Kinyarwanda and the cases of it are in the part of the Rukiga area adjacent to Kinyarwanda. [-gáhi] is akin to the form which would result from a regular development in Runyankore. Next to the Runyankore area, however, is found [-gási]. The explanation for this might be as follows. Reflexes of Common Bantu *[-ci₃], giving Runyankore [si] and Kinyarwanda [ʃi] are far more common than reflexes of Common Bantu *[-pi₃], which, as we have noted, gives Runyankore [hi] and Kinyarwanda [ʃi]. Those who know the two languages have, therefore, an awareness that Runyankore [si] corresponds to Kinyarwanda [ʃi] and if a borrowing is made from Kinyarwanda into Runyankore, the change [ʃi > si] may occur. The North-East of the Rukiga area shows features of Runyankore phonology in other items (5, 12 and 13 considered in the present section; 4, 7 and 10 considered in 3.7.; 6 considered in 3.9.; 11

considered in 3.2.), so that the process here described in terms of Runyankore could apply equally to it. The notion of borrowing has been introduced to account for a form which cannot be explained by a general phonetic development.

3.5.23. A further interesting case is in Item 47, the term for 'hoe'. Throughout the Rukiga area and in Runyankore the stem [-fúka] is found. This is a skewed shape from Common Bantu *[-cúka]. Kinyarwanda has a regular reflex [-suka] and one informant on the Kinyarwanda border, no. 137, gave [-súka]. Informants 126 and 127, however, gave [-fúka], that is, showing an ordinary Rukiga development of [f] from Common Bantu * [c], cf. Guthrie's * [-cá:ŋ-] 'find', Rukiga [fa:ŋga]. It was informant 127 who gave [fika] in Item 2. The Common Bantu * [-pik-] 'arrive' underlies his form; since borrowing can be discounted (see 3.5.6.), he has an independent development of Common Bantu * [p₃] > [fi], while generally Rukiga has [hi].

3.5.24. Beside the correspondence of Runyankore [hi] and Kinyarwanda [fi], reflecting Common Bantu * [p₃], there is also a correspondence of Runyankore [hja] and Kinyarwanda [ʃa], reflecting Common Bantu * [pia]. Guthrie's * [-pí-] 'become cooked' appears regularly in Kinyarwanda as [ʃa], but in Runyankore and Rukiga we find not * [hja], but [sja] (see 3.56.2.). However, the modified root (see 2.5.1. note 10) is regular in Runyankore [-hí:re] and Rukiga [-hí:re], while Kinyarwanda [-hí:je] has the Runyankore/Rukiga consonant! The use of [s] in this term gives rise to a homonymic clash with [sja] 'become fine' (of weather) in Rukiga, but not in Runyankore, where 'become fine' is rendered by [tsja] (see above, 3.5.18.).

3.5.25. The correspondence between Runyankore [tsi], Kinyarwanda [si] and Rukiga [si] seen in the form for 'leave' reflects Common Bantu * [ti]. There is also a correspondence between Runyankore [tsi] and Kinyarwanda [tsi] which reflects a Common Bantu * [k₃], as in [-tsi] 'vein'. The stem for 'hope' in Item 1 (see above, 3.5.17.) does not appear in Kinyarwanda and Guthrie gives no comparable form. Rukiga [-sko], if through [-siko], could reflect equally Common Bantu * [-k₃ko], * [-t₃k₃o] or * [-c₃k₃o]; since Runyankore has [-tsiko] we can

discount the last possibility. The question as to which of the other two is reflected may be answered by the response of informant 137, who uses the Kinyarwanda form for 'I have' and may therefore be expected to show Kinyarwanda phonetic developments, the more so since he is on the border of that language. He gave [-tsiko]. Since Common Bantu *[tɪ] appears in Kinyarwanda as [si], while Common Bantu *[ki] becomes [tsi], it would seem that [-tsiko] must reflect *[-kiko]. (Because Kinyarwanda itself does not have the stem, it could not shed light on the issue in the way in which this one Rukiga speaker has done.)

3.7. Semi-vowels (Items 7, 4, 8, 10)

3.7.0. [j] and [w] are found in Rukiga. [j] is sometimes a semi-vowel and sometimes a fricative: this is the substance of Item 7. [w] is used after [b] by some speakers, but many other sounds occur in this position with other speakers: Item 4 is a word which illustrates this, while also showing the loss of the [b] in certain cases. Item 8 shows [w] and other sounds after [d]; Item 10 shows [w] and variants after [f].

3.7.1. [j] is an allophone of /i/, occurring before a vowel, since [i] does not occur in this position. Thus [bj̥^h:mbi] 'both' (Class 8) may be transcribed phonemically as /bi̥^hmbi/ (see also 2.1.6.)

3.7.2. The phonetic nature of [j] varies across the area. Item 7 is the phrase [nibj̥^hɛ:bi] 'these are the ones' (Class 8), phonemically /nit̥^hbio+ɛbi/. In the North [j] is a semi-vowel and, if we include the informants who gave [rj] rather than [bj] (see 3.20.7.), we can delimit a continuous area of [j] as a semi-vowel stretching to the extreme West and South-West. In the South and central regions, and in a patch in the West (informants 116, 125, 134, 135, 137, 138), [j] is a fricative, usually voiced, but sometimes not so. Cases of the semi-vowel do occur in this area, but they are few and scattered.

3.7.3. [w] is an allophone of /u/ occurring before a vowel, since [u] does not occur in this position. Thus [nagw̥^hɛ:nda] 'I wanted it' (Class 3) may be transcribed phonemically as /nagu̥^hɛnda/.

3.7.4. Where some speakers have [w] after [b], others have a variety of other sounds. Item 4 is the word for 'dog'. Only the North-East is relatively homogeneous in its use of [bw], which is also found scattered throughout the East. Elsewhere in the East and throughout the West, the most common form has [g] instead of [bw], thus [é:mgá] instead of [é:mbwa], but this is only one of many forms. The velar plosive followed by a velar fricative was given by ten informants scattered across the area. A velar fricative without plosion occurs in seven cases with a concentration in the South-East. A uvular plosive was recorded in six cases in the North, looking rather like a 'misfired' imitation of the velar plosive characteristic of the South. A uvular plosive followed by a uvular fricative was found in only two examples, but there were twenty-one cases of a uvular fricative without plosion. These were scattered in the central and North-Western areas. These various forms occurred both with and without labialisation, a feature clearly reminiscent of the [w] used by some speakers. There were also some instances of devoicing. This bewildering array of forms seems to represent in diachronic terms a process of change from the semi-vowel, found in Runyankore, to the velar plosive, found in the corresponding position in Kinyarwanda. Synchronically, all the uvular sounds and the velar fricatives do not occur in any context other than between [b] or [d] and a vowel or, as in the example here, between a nasal and a vowel.

3.7.5. Viewed comparatively we may note that [bw] in some varieties corresponds to [g] in some others. When we consider the latter from a strictly structural standpoint though, it is inadmissible to refer to the [b] in other systems; we must give an account solely in terms of the system to hand. Where the stem begins with [b] in the form for 'dog' the class prefix /n/ is phonetically [m] because /nb/ is always realised as [mb] (see 2.2.3.); where there is no [b] we should expect the class prefix to be [n]. A form like [ɛngáɾo] 'hand' shows that there is no phonetic rule requiring /n/ to be realised as [m] before [g]. Yet we find [é:mgá]. If, therefore, we take /-ga/ as the stem in the form for 'dog', we are obliged to seek a reason why the class prefix should be [m] when the phonetically comparable stem /-gáɾo/ in the form for 'hand' has the class prefix [n]. The clue

to this problem lies in a diminutive form. The Class 12 prefix /aka/ has a diminutive significance; the form used for 'little dog' is [akabga]. From this form we see that the [b] is part of the stem. In [ê:mga] the [b] has disappeared after the [m], even though this [m] is conditioned by it as the realisation of /n/. Given that there is /b/ in [ê:mga], we are dealing with sounds occurring in the environment /b - a/ or, more generally, /b - V/. Since [u] never occurs in this position, we may say that the uvular and velar sounds are allophones of /u/. The choice of /u/ rather than some other vowel phoneme is determined by the concord prefix system: those who have [ê:mga] have [bu] as their Class 14 prefix before a consonant, but [bg] as the Class 14 prefix before a vowel, as in [bga] 'of' for /buta/. The formulation of the phonetic realisation of /u/ must be handled carefully. Taking [ê:mga] as /ê:nbua/, we shall not say that /bu/ is realised as [g] in the environment /n - V/ because this will not account for [akabga] as /akabua/. To cover both examples we must say that /u/ is realised as [g] in the environment /b - V/. In addition, applying the general rule /nb/ → [mb] and dropping the [b], for [ê:mga] /nbu/ is realised as [mg] in the environment /V - V/. The uvular sounds and the velar fricative occur only in the environments /b - V/ and /d - V/ (see below, 3.7.6.) [g], on the other hand, for those who have it in forms like [ê:mga], is both an allophone of /u/ in the stated environments and the realisation of /g/ in its other occurrences.

3.7.6. Item 8, the term for a dough-like food made from millet, shows the behaviour of /u/ after [d], the [d] being a realisation of /r/ conditioned by a preceding [n] (see 2.2.3.). The most common forms are [endwéire] with semi-vowel and [endgéire] with [g]. (For the diphthongs found in this item see 3.9.6.) The latter form is scattered in the Central and Southern parts of the area, but (like [ê:mga]) it does not occur in the North-East. There are two cases of a velar fricative with labialisation, but the strangest case is that of informant 136, the Westernmost of all, who gave [ɛnbgéire]. Not only does he have [b] for [d], but he has the sequence [nb], whereas normally /nb/ is realised as [mb]. In this item [b] is not found with

any other informant. Neighbouring Ruhunde and Kinyarwanda have [mb] for /nb/ like Rukiga. There are three instances of [ué], in which /u/ before a vowel is not realised in any special allophonic way: these are best considered as an intermediate stage between [w] + diphthong [ei] and diphthong [ɔi], dealt with in 3.9.6. Two informants gave the velar plosive with labialisation. We conclude that /nɛru/ is realised as [ndw] for some speakers, [ndg] for others and so on, since, apart from the three informants mentioned above, [u] does not occur in these positions and the varieties that do are accordingly given the status of environmentally conditioned allophones.

3.7.7. Item 10 is the verb 'die', elicited in the context /ente zange zika~/ 'my cows' with the far past tense. Throughout the North and in scattered instances in the South, the root given is [fa]. Elsewhere in the South there is [fwa] (more frequently in the South-West) and [fka] (more frequently in the South-East). The last two forms seem to include an additional phoneme in comparison with [fa]; their realisations of it are clearly parallel to what we have seen above with [ɛmbwa] and [ɛndweire]. In those words we saw [w] alongside [g] after a voiced stop; now we see [w] alongside [k], the voiceless equivalent of [g], after an unvoiced fricative. The presence of scattered examples of [fwa] (and [fka] secondarily) may be a form of confusion with the verb [hwa] 'come to an end' which three informants actually gave in this item, presumably as a euphemistic term for 'die'. The fact that there is a solid area of [fa] in the North with scattered examples of it in the South seems to indicate that it is the older form, giving way to [fwa] in the South, while the phonetic system that produces [ɛmga] and [ɛndgeire] comes up with [fka]. The forms are reflexes of Common Bantu *[-ku-] (Guthrie, 1970). So [fwa] would seem to be an older form than [fa], but it is, of course, a possibility that [fwa] was largely ousted by [fa] at an earlier stage than the present and is now making a comeback. The cognate noun is [ɔrɔfu] (death): the [u] here would provide pressure for [fwa], phonemically /fua/.

3.7.8. The three cases of [pf] in the word for 'die', all on the Kinyarwanda border, are clearly influenced from that language, since

this affricate is not known in the remainder of the Rukiga area, but it does occur in Kinyarwanda.

3.9. Diphthongs and Central Vowel (Items 9, 8, 6)

3.9.0. /ei/ is a phoneme, but sometimes [ei] stands for two phonemes. Item 9 is concerned with the meeting of /a/ and /i:/ at morpheme juncture. Some speakers have a phoneme /ɔi/: Item 8 is a word which illustrates this. The central vowel [ə] is the subject of Item 6.

3.9.1. The diphthong [ei] occurs within morphemes, for example, [ɔmuʃeiza] 'man'. It must be counted as a separate phoneme because its distribution is comparable to that of the monophthong vowel phonemes. For those speakers whose only diphthong is [ei] (see below), there is no possibility of substituting any other sound for the [e] within the permissible sound sequences, for a consonant other than a nasal can be followed only by a vowel: [ɔmuʃ-] could not, therefore, be followed by a consonant and to place any other vowel in the environment [ɔmuʃ-iza] would produce another diphthong. Similarly, to substitute a vowel for [i] would produce another diphthong. No consonant other than a nasal could be placed in the context [V -za]; nasals do not appear after [e]. So nothing other than [i] can appear in the environment [ɔmuʃe-za]. The indivisibility of [ei] is confirmed by the fact that its duration is no longer than that of a monophthong vowel like [a].

3.9.2. The diphthong [ai] within morphemes seems to occur only in church! The reason is that what Bakiga pronounce normally as [ei] is in many cases represented orthographically as 'ai' in the Bible and Prayer-Book which are used (which reflect Runyankore forms: see 1.4.1.). An attempt at "correctness" has caused the pronunciation [ai] to be adopted in Bible-reading, hymn-singing and so on in words like [baitu] 'but'. We should treat [ai] as a free variant of [ei] in these conditions.

3.9.3. The diphthong [ei] also occurs across morpheme boundaries as the realisation of /ei:/ and /ai:/. Thus /e^hi:ne/ 'it + have' becomes [e^hine] and /n+tʃa+i:ne/ 'I + still + have' becomes [ntʃe^hine]. In these cases, of course, [ei] represents two phonemes.

3.9.4. The realisation of /ai:/ across morpheme boundaries varies. Item 9 shows /a^hi:batga/ 'he + steal + present habitual' (for some speakers /a^hi:ba/: see 3.14.1-4), so 'he steals', elicited by asking what a thief does. There are two types, the [ai] type and the [ei] type. The former is [ai] for those speakers who have /ga/ (because the high tone is shifted to the final syllable of the verb when this has become the penultimate by the addition of /ga/: see 2.3.3.) and [a^hi:] for the others. The [ei] type is [ei] for those who have /ga/ and [e^hi] for the others. The distribution of the two types across the area is completely mixed, apart from the fact that the [ei] type is not found in the North-East, although elsewhere in the East it appears stronger than its rival. The relative strength of the [ai] type in the West and North might indicate that it is an older form, receding slowly towards the periphery of the area.

3.9.5. The form [a^hi:] given by one informant is also found in Kinyarwanda, in which diphthongs of the [ai] or [ei] types do not occur.

3.9.6. The diphthong [ɔi] occurs within morphemes for a few speakers. Item 8 is the term for a dough-like food made from millet. In this word the majority of speakers have [w] or consonant (see 3.7.6.) followed by the diphthong [ei]; six have [ɔ^hi]; two have [ɔ^hi:]; one has [ɔw^hi]; one has [ɔé]; one has [ɔ^hié]; all in the framework [end-re]. Those who have [w] or consonant + [ei] do not give rise to any phonemic problems; the remainder have variations on a diphthong [ɔi]. These eleven speakers are scattered, but for them there seems to be a new phoneme: [tɔ^hi:za] 'pay tribute' contrasts for them with [ti^h:za] 'lend' and [tu^h:za] 'install'. The same criteria that were used in the setting up of [ei] as a single phoneme will apply here.

3.9.7. Across morpheme boundaries [ɔi:] occurs for all speakers: /ɔ+i:ne/ 'you + have' becomes [ɔi:ne]. Here there are two phonemes.

The biphonemic analysis could also hold in forms like [natʃíre] 'I took a path' and [naʃʒíre] 'I tried by ordeal' where [-íre] represents a modified root (see 2.5.1. note 10) and [tʃ-] and [ʃʒ-] lexical morphemes. It is of interest, though, that the forms [natʃíre] and [naʃʒíre] are contrasted with [natweíre] 'I carried' and [naʃweíre] 'I married' only by the speakers who have the /ɔi/ phoneme. For the other speakers [natweíre] means both 'I took a path' and 'I carried', and [naʃweíre] means both 'I tried by ordeal' and 'I married'.

3.9.8. Item 6 is the near past tense of 'begin' with a Class 2 verbal prefix, so 'they began' or 'they have begun'. In the North-East and East [batá:ndəka] was given; elsewhere, sharply divided from this form, [batá:ndika] was found, with the exception of five informants who gave [batandika]. These five were all in remote areas, suggesting that theirs is a relic form. The [i] which is tonally unmarked seems a half-way stage between [í] and [ə]. This last, where it occurs, is not a separate phoneme, but merely an allophonic variation of /i/, conditioned by the environment [C - C] when tonally unmarked.

3.14. Present tenses (Items 14, 15, 17)

3.14.0. For most speakers there is a three-term system of present tenses: present habitual, present actual and the 'still' tense, for actions still in progress. It will be seen that a few speakers have a less differentiated system. The actual forms used for the tenses will be examined in turn: Item 14 illustrates the present habitual; Item 15, the present actual; Item 17, the 'still' tense. The tense-markers are most commonly infixes which appear after the verbal prefix (the concord prefix) and before the root (and object infixes, if any). Infixes are indicated with hyphens before and after. A hyphen before a tense-marker with none after it indicates a suffix, which appears after the root. A hyphen after a tense-marker with none before it indicates a prefix, which appears before the verbal prefix. The one case in which a tense is marked by the complete absence of affixes, so that the verbal prefix and root constitute a complete form, is denoted by the symbol Ø. (For an outline of the tense-system in general see 2.5.1.; for an outline of the Kinyarwanda tense-system, to which reference is made here, see 4.2.7.)

3.14.1. Item 14 is the present habitual tense, exemplified by the first person singular (verbal prefix /n/) of /gamba/ 'speak'. In the question to and answer of informants the word /buri:ʒo/ 'always, habitually' was included, to ensure that the right tense was being given.

3.14.2. Ø is found in the North-East and East (Areas 1, 2, 3, 5, 11, 12) and again in the South-West (Areas 8, 10). The first block appears to be expanding, as the cases in Area 12 form a distinct bulge into the expanse of the alternative form and this bulge is along a line of communication, the road to Kabale, the administrative centre of Kigezi District.

3.14.3. The occurrence of Ø along the border with Kinyarwanda is explicable in terms of the other form for this item, /-ga/, being rejected because of the use of /-ga/ in Kinyarwanda to form the two imperfect tenses of that language. (The connection between these uses of /-ga/ is clear in the element of habituality, but the different applications of the suffix are of sufficient divergence to be mutually exclusive.) The proximity of the Kinyarwanda usage acts as a counter-influence to a Rukiga usage in this example.

3.14.4. /-ga/ occurs in the remainder of the Rukiga area, that is, much of areas 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 13. The border between this form and the other one is reasonably firm in the North, but not so in the South; here there is an area where the two forms are mixed: informants 81, 82, 69, 80 and 78 are close together, but are not uniform in their choice. They are in the Kabale area and this conflict here provides further evidence of the expansion of Ø suggested above.

3.14.5. Item 15 is the present actual tense exemplified by the first person singular of /gamba/ 'speak'. In the question to and answer of informants the word /hati/ 'now' was always included, to ensure that the right tense was being given. [nda] is regular as the realisation of /nra/ (see 2.2.3.).

3.14.6. /ni-/ occurs in the East and North-East over an area very similar to that of Ø for the present habitual tense. It seems to be similarly advancing along the line of communication to Kabale and to have reached further beyond Kabale than Ø: informants 128 and 120, although deep in the South-West, are contiguous with the main area of /ni-/, not separated from it.

3.14.7. The other main form, /-ra-/, occurs over much of the rest of the Rukiga area, but there are fairly frequent instances of /ni-/ there, too, these twice forming distinct 'patches': one in Areas 8 and 9 of six informants and one in Area 10 of four informants. This pattern of distribution, disconnected areas, would suggest that the form once covered a larger area, that is, that it is the older of the two forms and has given way to a newer form, namely /-ra-/. This form is found in a single, continuous area without any further disconnected patches. Such a suggestion does, of course, run contrary to the observation made above that /ni-/ is advancing, but the two tendencies are assignable to different periods of time and so not mutually contradictory. (The advance of /ni-/ is clearly a modern feature, for the line of communication on which it is based has only existed in recent times; the emergence and spread of /-ra-/ is an older phenomenon, connected perhaps (since the form is identical to that used in Kinyarwanda) with the presence of Banyarwanda in the area in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries: see 6.2.7.) The spread of /-ra-/ would have been reinforced by the fact that it regularises the system of tense-markers: /ni-/, where it occurs, is the only example of a tense prefix, all the other tense-markers being infixes or suffixes.

3.14.8. Those speakers who have /-ra-/ use it also in the dependent form (see 2.5.1. note 12). Those who have /ni-/ have in the dependent form a compound formed with /-ri/ 'be', and the infinitive prefix /ku/, so /-riku-/. This form occurs in the non-dependent form for four informants, two in Area 9 and the two in Area 14. The proximity of these speakers to the Kinyarwanda area seems accidental, since that language uses compounds of /-ri/ with the infinitive prefix only in its conditional mood. The use of such a compound does, however,

avoid the anomalous tense prefix /ni-/ without introducing any new tense-marker such as /-ra-/.

3.14.9. The seven informants who combine the present habitual tense and the present actual tense in one form are mostly in remote areas. Three of them (informants 136, 134 and 137) are on the border with Kinyarwanda and there appears to be an influence here: in Kinyarwanda /-ra-/ serves (in the disjunct form) as a present actual, a present habitual and a future of today. Two of the other four informants are on the periphery of the Rukiga area: informant 6 of the Banyabutumbi on Lake Edward and informant 14 on the Western edge of the Bahororo, that is, the Eastern edge of the area formerly occupied by the Banyabutumbi (see 1.5.3.). These last two areas, today far from the Kinyarwanda area, may in the past have been subject to Kinyarwanda influence (see 6.2.8.). Kinyarwanda influence seems also to be at work in present habitual /-ra- -ga/ of informants 126 and 127 and /ni- -ga/ of informant 97. Both these forms look like an amalgam of present actual and present habitual tenses (but are actually used only for the present habitual), so that Kinyarwanda usage has affected Rukiga form: they are not Kinyarwanda in form, since, as has already been noted, Kinyarwanda uses /-ga/ in imperfect tenses, not in the present. Informant 105 offered both \emptyset and /ni-/ for the present habitual tense, but only the latter for the present actual: he, therefore, seems to have only partially the tense-system, structurally different from that of the majority of informants, which is held by those informants who combine present actual and present habitual usage in a single form.

3.14.10. Informants who have /-ga/ in Item 14 have high tone on the final syllable of the root which by the addition of /-ga/ has become the penultimate syllable of the total verb form (see 2.3.3.). Thus /ngambaga/ is heard as [ngambága]. There was only one informant who gave /ga/ with a different tonal pattern. This is probably explicable in terms of uncertainty over the choice of forms for this tense, rather than as indicating a variant tonal grammar.

3.14.11. Item 17 is the 'still' tense, exemplified by the third person singular (verbal prefix /a/) of /gamba/ 'speak'.

3.14.12 The form /ni- -tʃi-/ is found in the North and East (Areas 1, 2, 5, 11) and again in a few cases in the South-West. It occupies a much smaller area than /ni-/ in Item 15, despite the obvious relationship between the two forms. The alternative form for Item 17, /-tʃá-/ , covers the remainder of the Rukiga area and, from what has just been said, it will be clear that a number of speakers have /ni-/ in Item 15 and /-tʃá-/ in Item 17. The opposite combination, that is, /-ra-/ in Item 15 and /ni- -tʃi-/ in Item 17, is very rare, the cases that do occur being in areas where in other informants Item 17 has the form /-tʃá-/ . All this, together with the peripheral nature of the occurrences of /ni- -tʃi-/ in the South-West, would suggest that this form is an older, relic one. The move to replace it with /-tʃá-/ was possibly reinforced by the homonymy of /-tʃi-/ , which serves as the Class 7 object infix (see 2.4.1.). There is certainly no question of the instances of /ni- -tʃi-/ in the South-West being the result of outside influence, for Kinyarwanda has for this tense /-rátʃá:-/ , clearly related to the other Rukiga form!

3.14.13. The form /-tʃára-/ , given by informant 108, has something in common with the Kinyarwanda form: both use the present actual tense infix together with the 'still' infix; they differ only in the ordering of them. It will be observed that /ni- -tʃi-/ , which we have suggested to be an older form, likewise contains both a 'still' marker (the infix) and a present actual marker (the prefix). It seems feasible to account for the form /-tʃára-/ by saying that the newer form /-tʃá-/ was felt to be inadequate in that it did not contain any tense-marker apart from the 'still' infix whereas the older form had contained one and so a present actual marker was added in the form of /-ra-/ .

3.14.14. The form /-kuéise-/ occurs as part of a response once each in Items 15 and 17. This is derived from /kuáta/ , 'to hold', and has a 'state' ending: compare /afútame/ , 'he is sitting'. The idea of a state rather than an action is clearly connected with the idea of continuity inherent in 'still' and is not incompatible with a present actual tense, which, indeed, is in some grammars called 'present continuous'. Where /-kuéise-/ is used in the present actual

tense (informant 64), the infix appropriate to that tense, /-ra-/, is also used, so that /-kueíse-/ is not the sole bearer of the semantic element, 'present actual'. Where /-kueíse-/ is used in the 'still' tense, however, (informant 105), it is in conjunction with the present actual tense without any 'still' infix, so that /-kueíse-/ here seems to bear the semantic element of 'still' and to be the only morpheme bearing it.

3.16. Past Tenses (Items 16, 18, 73, 74)

3.16.0. Apart from 'never' and 'not yet' tenses, there is for most speakers a three-term system of past tenses: near past, for actions on the same day as the utterance, 'yesterday' past and far past, for actions prior to the day before the utterance. The near past tense occurs in Items 6, 11, 29, 30, 31, 50, 51, 52 and 69 and is the same throughout the area, having the infix /-a-/. The 'yesterday' tense, Item 16, shows variation, but all informants used the modified root of the verb (see 2.5.1.). Item 18 is the far past tense, but a few speakers have a structurally different past tense system. Item 73 is derived from the same response as Item 16, but it examines the form of the modified root used in the verb /gênda/, as an example of verbs ending in [-nda]. Item 74 deals with another modified root, that of verbs having the shape /reCera/.

3.16.1. Item 16 is the 'yesterday' tense of /gênda/ 'go' in the first person singular (verbal prefix /n/). /p>muebázio/ 'yesterday' (or equivalent: see 3.34.1.) was insisted upon in every informant's answer, as a check that the required tense was being given. In the North, East and South-East, the usual form has no tense infix, but the verb root is in its modified form of /-gênzîre/. The South-Eastern occurrences of this form show on the map as a distinct bulge into the area of other forms; since this bulge is along a communication-line, namely, the road to the administrative centre of Kabale, it would appear that the form is advancing. The other main form has the infix /-a-/ and the modified root. This is found in the centre and South-West of the area fairly consistently, although the alternative form occurs there too in isolated cases. The first form is /ngênzîre/; the second, /nâgênzîre/.

3.16.2. The form without the infix is also used throughout the area as an imperfective aspect. Thus /asinzi^{re}/ from /sinda/ 'get drunk' means 'he is drunk'. The essential idea in this usage is that the effect of an action done in the past is continuing in the present. Thus I recorded /ntanditfi^{re}/ 'I began there', said by a man of the time when he began his present work. This time was not yesterday, but further back in the past; the reason for the form given is that the work is still continuing now. The form with /-a-/, on the other hand, is used throughout the area as a perfective aspect, indicating an action that has been completed. Thus /iagenzi^{re}/ means 'he has already gone', where the time of the action is immaterial and only the fact of its completion is conveyed. It will be seen from these factors that the choice of 'yesterday' tense is relevant to the structure of the verbal system in a wide sense, for some speakers merge it with the imperfective and others, with the perfective. For the former group, who also include Runyankore-speakers, there seems to be no difficulty in referring to a completed action of yesterday and to an uncompleted one by the same form, the context presumably avoiding ambiguity; for the latter group, a completed action may or may not have taken place specifically yesterday: we cannot tell from the form of the verb alone. We might infer that the latter system has less reference to time (since 'yesterday' completion is not differentiable within the verb from any other completion), while the former delimits its times more precisely alongside its aspectual distinctions.

3.16.3. The forms with /-ra-/ or /-ra-/ and modified root, given by the Batwa informants, are a reflection of the Kinyarwanda system, where /-ra-/ and modified root is used for a near past tense.

3.16.4. Item 18 is the far past tense of /fa/ 'die' with a Class 10 prefix elicited in the context /ente zange~/ 'my cows'. The vast majority of informants gave /zikafa/, that is, using /-ka-/. Those who gave any other form were asked whether they would use /zikafa/ in any circumstances, so that an alternative range of occurrence of this form could be demonstrated or discounted. In fact, no such range emerged, but there remained five speakers who used /zafi^{re}/,

that is, /-a-/ and modified root, for the far past and who did not use /zikáfa/ at all. All of these used the same form in Item 16, so that for them far past, 'yesterday' past and perfective are all merged in one. The five informants concerned are scattered along the Western edge of the area. This peripheral distribution implies perhaps that we have here the remnants of an older arrangement once current over a larger area.

3.16.5. The forms [zapfíe] and [tʃapfíéwé] show Kinyarwanda phonology (see 3.7.8.) and modified root endings of the Kinyarwanda type. They are analysable as /-a-/ and modified root, that is, the form we have seen commonly in the 'yesterday' tense and for a few speakers also in the far past tense. Kinyarwanda does cover far past and 'yesterday' by a single tense, but it does not have the form /-a-/ and modified root; this form is found in Kinyarwanda, but it is used for the recent past tense (disjunct type). In our two forms we see, therefore, Kinyarwanda influence on the elements and Kinyarwanda influence on the function, but the relation of elements to function is not on Kinyarwanda lines.

3.16.6. The modified roots of Rukiga verbs can be formed according to a set of rules which are generally constant throughout the area (see 2.5.1. note 10). In the case of roots ending in [-nda] the modified form is normally [-nzíre], but Item 73 shows twenty informants who gave [-ndíre]. Eleven speakers form a continuous area in the West, which takes in some remote areas; those outside this area are also generally in remote areas. One is led to the conclusion that we are dealing with a relic form. The alternative possibility, that [-ndíre] represents a newer form exhibiting levelling with [-nda], is unlikely in view of its scattered distribution. In one case [-ndíre] is accompanied by a changed tone-pattern: /nagéndire/.

3.16.7. Another case where modified roots differ across the area is found in verbs with roots of the shape /reCera/. Item 74 is the 'yesterday' past tense of /rerera/ 'leave off' in the third person singular. (The two forms for 'yesterday' past noted in Item 16 occurred here also, of course; we are now concerned only with the

form of the modified root.) The form /-rereire/ is the only one that occurs in the North-East and it is also found in patches in the East and South-West and scattered elsewhere. This discontinuous distribution indicates an older form, now giving way to /-rerereire/, which is found in all parts except the North-East. This form shows reduplication, without any apparent semantic significance in this case. Reduplication occurs in these roots in Kinyarwanda, but not in Runyankore. Unfortunately, the comparison between the occurrence of reduplication and the lack of it is not complete because some informants gave /-retfire/ (from /réka/ 'leave') and, when asked if they used any form at all from /rerera/, said 'no'. Another informant gave /-ɔfire/, which I can only associate with /ôja/ 'miss a day'. Five informants around the Southern edge gave /-rerereire/ and this /rɔ/ reappeared in two of the three cases with the Kinyarwanda ending of /-eie/; the forms with /rɔ/ belong to the group with reduplication, since /-rerereire/ comes from a root /rɔrera/.

3.19. The negative (Items 19, 23)

3.19.0. The present actual tense, in its affirmative form, was the subject of Item 15. Item 19 deals with its negative form, which shows considerable variation across the Rukiga area. Item 23 concerns the negative imperative. In discussing the negative of the present actual tense, the same notation is used as was used for its affirmative form (see 3.14.0.).

3.19.1. Item 19 is the negative of the present actual tense, exemplified by the first person singular of /enda/ 'want'. In what follows certain regular realisations apply: [ɛ] for /aɛ/, [wɛ] for /uɛ/, [nd] for /nr/ (see 2.1.6. and 2.2.3.). The application of these leaves [d] for /ra/ and [dikw] for /riku/.

3.19.2. /ti- -riku-/ is found in the North-East and East (Areas 1, 2, 5, 11, 12) over much the same area as that occupied by /ni-/ for the affirmative present actual (Item 15: see 3.14.6.). This particular pair are the ones found in Runyankore. In Rukiga, however, they are not always together: some informants have /ti- -ra-/ in Item 19

together with /ni-/ in Item 15. /ti- -ra-/ is a simple form, whereas /ti- -riku-/ is a compound formed from /-ri/ 'be' and the prefix used for the infinitive, /ku-/. It would seem from the additional fact that only two informants (nos. 48 and 125) have /ti- -riku-/ in Item 19 together with /-ra-/ in Item 15 that the compound negative is less favoured than the simple one. /ti- -riku-/ looks to be advancing where /ni-/ is, but it has not made the same progress. It does not, of course, have the same relationship to /ni-/ that /ti- -ra-/ has to /-ra-/, that is, simple addition of /ti-/.

3.19.3. The area of /-ra-/ in Item 15, is, however, by no means covered by /ti- -ra-/ in Item 19. There are three other negative prefixes, /táue-/, /táuo-/ and /tâ-/, all of which combine with /-ra-/. Eleven informants gave /táue-/; all except two were in remote areas and some of these were on the periphery. The remaining two were both very old men. There seems little doubt, therefore, that /táue-/ is an older form, now giving way to /ti-/. The two cases of /táuo-/ were also both in remote areas and so were the two cases of /tâ-/. The same conclusion applies to them.

3.19.4. The form [tinġinda] is dealt with in 3.20.2.

3.19.5. Item 23 is the negative imperative, exemplified by the second person singular of /ebua/ 'forget'. The various forms given for the root of the verb are considered in 3.50. 6-8; here we are concerned only with the negative element. In the dependent forms of the verb (see 2.5.1., note 12), an infix is used to form a negative instead of the prefix discussed above. The infix is also used in the imperative, which is thus made up of verbal prefix, negative infix and root. The negative infix is sometimes /-ta-/, sometimes /-ta-/. When the root of the verb begins with a vowel, phonetic changes result from the juxtaposition of two vowels (see 2.1.6.). /ae/ is realised as [e], so when the form [ɔtébwa] is given, the negative infix being used is /-ta-/: /ɔtaebua/. On the other hand, /ae/ is realised as [aje], so when the form [ɔtájebwa] is given, the negative infix being used is /-ta-/: /ɔtaebua/.

3.19.6. /-ta-/ is found in the North-East, East and South-East of the area. Its occurrence in the South-East shows on the map as a distinct bulge into the area of /-ta-/. This bulge follows the line of communication along the road to the administrative centre of Kabale. (That is, the old road via Kabanyonyi: four informants (nos. 68, 69, 81 and 82) who lie close to the new road opened in 1970 gave /-ta-/.) It is noticeable that informants lying away from the road do not have /-ta-/ and so form an enclave of /-ta-/, for example, informants 20, 21 and 30, completely surrounded by cases of /-ta-/. This indicates that /-ta-/ is now advancing. There are a few isolated cases of /-ta-/ elsewhere, but the remainder of the area is generally the domain of /-ta-/. One informant on the border between the two forms gave both, with a differentiation of function: for him /-ta-/ referred to the future and /-ta-/ to the immediate moment to come.

3.19.7. Informant 115, in a remote area, gave [ɔ́tí:ʒa kwé:bwa]. This seems to be formed from /í:ʒa/ as an auxiliary verb with the infinitive prefix /ku-/ and the root of the main verb. The form /í:ʒa/ normally means 'come'. Its negative imperative regularly formed would be /ɔ́taí:ʒa/ or /ɔ́taí:ʒa/ as above; the first would give [ɔ́taí:ʒa] or [ɔ́teí:ʒa] (see 3.9.4.); the second would give [ɔ́taí:ʒa]. The form [ɔ́tí:ʒa] therefore either has a negative infix different from /ta/ or /ta/ and presumably equal to /t/ or else has /ta/ or /ta/ but with an unusual realisation of /ai:/ or /ai:/. Either way, the use of an auxiliary verb to form the negative imperative is unique to this informant.

3.20. Concords (Items 20, 21, 22, 75 et alia)

3.20.0. The concord system of Rukiga is shown in Table 2.1.: see 2.4.1. This applies throughout the area with a few exceptions, which will be examined in this section. They concern the Class 10 adjectival prefix (Item 20); the Class 10 verbal prefix (Item 21); the Class 9 and 10 noun prefix (several items); the Class 7 noun prefix (Items 25, 65); the Class 8 'possessive' prefix (Item 7);

the Class 8 noun prefix (Item 57); the Class 3 noun prefix (Items 56, 64); the Class 6 adjectival prefix. In addition, this section also considers a vestigial operation of a phonetic law known as the Ganda law (Item 75) and the case of a Class 9 noun, for which some speakers give a plural in Class 10 and some in Class 6 (Item 22).

3.20.1. Item 20 is the adjectival stem /-rû:ngi/ 'good', used in Class 10, elicited in the sentence /ente zânge ni~/ 'my cows are ~'. Through most of the area the adjectival concord prefix for Class 9 is the same as that for Class 10, namely /n/. This parallels the noun prefix system, where Classes 9 and 10 also both have /n/. (/ente/ 'cows' is here Class 10; in Item 11 as 'cow' it is Class 9.) The consequent ambiguity is avoided by some informants for adjectives by the use of /zi/, which is found in other types of Class 10 prefixes throughout the area (see 2.4.1.). /zi/ with adjectives occurs in a belt across the centre of the area and in isolated instances elsewhere. The latter give the impression that it is an older form (in this position) and the central belt is in a vulnerable position, subject to influence from both North and South. That /zi/ is older than /n/ is the view taken by Guthrie (1970). /zi/ is a reflex of Common Bantu *[di] or *[ji], /n/ of *[ny]; Guthrie argues that *[di] is the earliest form. One informant in the central belt gave both /zi/ and /n/, adding that he used the former for extra clarity: the advantage of the different forms for singular and plural is realised, but for him /n/ is the normal form in the plural. This answer adds further evidence that /zi/ is generally giving way to /n/. Both Kinyarwanda and Runyankore use /n/ for adjectives in Class 10. The central belt of /zi/ is at the farthest point from the influences of these languages. Both the Batwa, who gave Kinyarwanda adjectival stems ([zî:dza] and [-sê:fa] cf. Kinyarwanda standard [-ziza]), had the prefix [n].

3.20.2. Most informants who used /n/ gave the form [nû:ndzi] rather than [ndû:ndzi] which would be a regular formation (/nr/=[nd]:see 2.2.3.). This matter is the substance of Item 75. The form [nû:ndzi] is the one used in Runyankore and it shows a vestigial operation of the Ganda law. According to this law, known also as Meinhof's rule

and operating in slightly different ways in a number of Bantu languages, the first of a pair of nasal compounds in successive syllables loses its non-nasal element and becomes purely nasal.³ In [nû:ndzi] for [ndû:ndzi] the nasal compound [nd] has become the nasal [n]. This operation of the Ganda law is vestigial in the sense that it does not operate today as a regular rule in Rukiga. For example, the adjectival stem /-reĩngwa/ 'long' appears throughout the area when in Class 10 as [ndeĩngwa], never without the [d]. Ten informants, however, gave [ndû:ndzi]. They were scattered, far from each other, some in remote areas, some on the periphery. It would seem that the operation of the Ganda law in the rest of the Rukiga area never penetrated as far as the isolated parts where [ndû:ndzi] is found. One informant (no. 115), who had [nû:ndzi], but is in a remote area, gave in Item 19 [tinê:nda] for the usual [tindê:nda]. His apparent application of the Ganda law in an item in which it is not normally found may be a hypercorrection on the analogy of [nû:ndzi] which he has adopted in place of [ndû:ndzi].

3.20.3. Item 21 concerns the verbal prefix in the sentence /ente zânge ~káfa/ 'my cows died'. /zânge/ in this sentence ensures that each informant gave a plural, i.e. Class 10, and not a singular, i.e. Class 9, agreement: 'my cow' would be /ente iânge/. The Class 10 verbal prefix is usually /zi/. In the North-East and East this form exists alongside /i/, which does not occur in the remainder of the area apart from two isolated cases, one in the South-East and the other in the North-West. Both /i/ and /zi/ are found in Runyankore, but only /zi/ in Kinyarwanda; the Easterly occurrence in the Rukiga area of /i/ is thus a continuation of the Runyankore usage. Both /zi/ and /i/ have starred forms in Guthrie, *[di] and *[yi] respectively, the former probably older.

3.20.4. The form [zi] given by one informant is of limited phonetic interest; more startling is the [dzi] given by informant 76 for both the verbal prefix in Item 21 and the adjectival prefix in Item 20. [dzi] is associated in other parts of the concord system with Class 9, not Class 10: it is, for example, the Class 9 object infix (see 2.4.1.). The only other informants who had the same form in Item 21

as in Item 20 were those who had /zi/ in both, but /zi/ is nowhere associated with Class 9. We have already noted that Class 9 and Class 10 noun prefixes are identical, as are Class 9 and Class 10 adjectival prefixes for most speakers. Informant 76 shows a link between the two classes in a very different way.

3.20.5. Normally nouns which have the Class 9 prefix in the singular have the identical Class 10 prefix in the plural. There are a few exceptions to this; Item 22 concerns one such. I established that each of my informants used /^âenzi/ in the singular to mean 'house'. I then suggested /za ziri ^âingi/ 'if they are many' to elicit the plural. The majority gave /amazu/, having a Class 6 prefix. This is otherwise used for the plural of nouns with singular prefixes /ku/, /bu/ and /ri/. Its use as a plural for /^âenzi/ avoids ambiguity between singular and plural. In only one part of the area can one speak of a patch of the form /^âenzi/ in the plural: that is in the extreme South-East. This can be viewed as a survival on the periphery and the remaining cases are either elsewhere on the periphery or in isolated parts, thus indicating an older form. Perhaps there is here a survival of a multi-class gender, that is, a three-way opposition between singular, countable plural and mass plural (see Guthrie (1948b)). Such an opposition does not operate today in Rukiga, but it is found in other Bantu languages. Fourteen informants gave /amaka/ and, when further questioned, claimed that they never used either /amazu/ or /^âenzi/ as a plural for 'houses'. /amaka/ avoids the singular/plural ambiguity by employing a different root; this root /-ka/ has itself avoided the ambiguity, for in the singular /éka/ is used and means 'household' (the building and the family that lives in it). The ending [-zu] is considered in 3.5. 14-15.

3.20.6. The remaining examples of concord variations are taken from a variety of items. Some are attributable to Kinyarwanda influence. Thus in the item just treated, one informant on the border has [inzu] and he also has [intáre]; another has [imédzere]; another has [i:mga] and [imwe]: Kinyarwanda has [i] as the initial vowel for Class 9 nouns where Rukiga normally has [e]. The use of [ji] for [dzi] as the object pronoun for Class 9 is dealt with separately in 3.2. 6,7.

Another border informant has [ekijogóte]: Kinyarwanda has [iki] as the prefix for Class 7 nouns where Rukiga normally has [etʃi]. Most interesting, however, is [edʒihu:ɲí:ra], given by three border informants. In Kinyarwanda an unvoiced consonant in the prefix is voiced before a stem beginning with a voiceless consonant. This is known as Dahl's law. [edʒi] does not occur as such in Kinyarwanda, but it is clearly a voicing of normal Rukiga [etʃi] and the stem begins with [h], a voiceless consonant. We thus have a Kinyarwanda law applied to Rukiga elements.

3.20.7. Apparently unconnected with Kinyarwanda is the use of [rj] for [bj] in Class 8 prefixes. In Item 7 seven informants gave [nirjé:bi]. They were scattered in remote places, which suggests that theirs is an older form. The feature re-appears in [erjéjereza] and [erjéjo] in Item 57. In this item one informant has [ri] for [bi], giving [erikondóʒo]. Strangest of all in Class 8, though, is informant 102 who in Item 7 gave [nidʒé:bi] and in Item 57 [edʒéjo]. It is clear that he is not changing the class in these expressions, since the former contains [é:bi] which in the expression must agree with [dʒ]: it means 'these are the ones', 'these' and 'ones' referring to the same objects. For this informant, therefore, we must say that /biV/ is realised as [dʒV], an unusual feature indeed, although [b>dʒ] is a historical development postulated for some Bantu languages.

3.20.8. The use of [g] where [m] is normally found in the noun and adjective prefixes occurred in three cases: [ɔgwi'ka] for [ɔmwi'ko] in Item 64; [ɔguhi'sa] for [ɔmuhi'sa] in Item 56; [garu'ndʒi] for [maru'ndʒi] I recorded in incidental conversation with one informant. The [g] is not foreign to the classes involved: the first example is a Class 3 noun; [gwa] is the object pronoun for this class. The second example is a Class 1 noun; [ɔgu] is the 'near' demonstrative for this class. The third example is a Class 6 adjective; [ga] is the object pronoun for this class (see 2.4.1.). It would appear that in the speakers concerned the occurrences of [g] and [m] are slightly more inclined towards [g] than is normally the case; their other forms show no consistency in the application of this.

3.20.9. A number of Class 9 nouns are used without the class prefix; for those of them which occur in the material see 3.60.

3.24. 'Sweet potatoes' (Item 24)

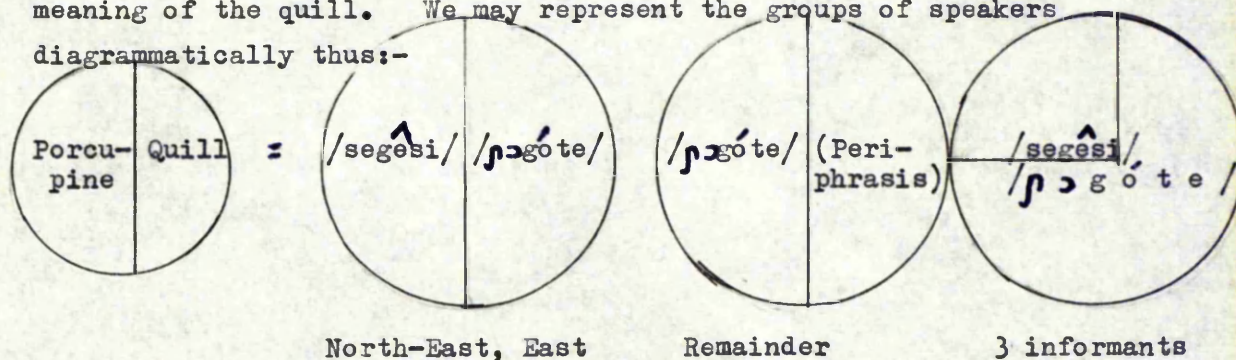
3.24.1. The more common form for 'sweet potatoes', /⁸ri:bua/, is found in all parts of the Rukiga area. In the North-East there is a concentration of /⁸takuri/, which is also found scattered elsewhere, particularly in the South-West. A form /⁸zu:mba/ in the South-West is the one used in Kinyarwanda.

3.24.2. The stem /ri:bua/ means 'to be eaten', a passive formation (see 2.5.2.) from /ria/ 'eat'. Although there is no parallel for the process of making a noun from a passive verb-stem simply by adding a Class 7 or 8 prefix, the form /⁸ri:bua/ seems to mean 'things to be eaten'. One informant used it to mean 'food', while keeping /~~e~~itakuri/ for the meaning of 'sweet potatoes'. This stem /takuri/ suggests a sense of 'not to be eaten': /ta/ is the negative infix (see 2.5.2.); /ku/ is the infinitive prefix; and /ri/ seems connected with /ria/ 'eat'. If the stem does have such a meaning, however, it is an old formation that has survived fossilised: a modern form would have the negative infix after the infinitive prefix and would have a lexical element phonetically more substantial than /ri/. It seems more likely that the interpretation of 'the things not to be eaten' is a case of popular etymology, on the basis of which a new form, 'the things to be eaten', has been created, since it is incongruous to refer to things which are eaten as the things which are not to be eaten. The distribution of /takuri/ in peripheral and remote areas tends to confirm the idea that it is an older form. The popular interpretation of the stem as 'not to be eaten' or its actual derivation from such a meaning stand equally unproven against the sociological fact that in Kigezi the sweet potato is one way of giving poison.

3.25. 'Porcupine' and 'Porcupine quill' (Item 25)

3.25.1. In the North-East, East and extreme South-East /⁷segəsi/ is used for 'porcupine' and /⁷ɔgôte/ for 'porcupine quill'. In the remainder of the area the latter term is used for 'porcupine' and a periphrasis is used for 'porcupine quill'. In the area where /⁷segəsi/ occurs, /⁷ɔgôte/ is restricted to the meaning of 'porcupine quill'. In the area where /⁷ɔgôte/ does mean 'porcupine', however,

there are isolated occurrences of /⁷segəsi/ in the same meaning, perhaps relics from a time when the latter form covered a wider area. More surprising was the answer of three informants who used both forms for the animal, together with /⁷ɲɔgote/ bearing the additional meaning of the quill. We may represent the groups of speakers diagrammatically thus:-



The difference between the first two is merely one of which lexical item goes in which semantic slot, but the third has a differently structured semantic field, since there is no direct opposition, porcupine: quill.

3.25.2. Two informants on the border between the main areas gave /⁷ɲɔgote/ as 'porcupine' and /⁷segəsi/ as another animal. This distinction seems to reflect uncertainty between the main uses, resulting in the form which is found on both sides of the border (albeit with different meanings) being retained for 'porcupine' while the form which is found only on one side is removed to a new but related meaning. One informant, similarly situated on the border between the two main areas, gave both forms in the meaning of 'porcupine', but said that /⁷segəsi/ was used for greater clarity.

3.25.3. The prefix [ski] instead of [etfi], given by one informant on the Kinyarwanda border, shows influence from that language, which has [iki] as the Class 7 noun prefix. The form [etfiɲɔgote], given by four informants in the West, also shows Kinyarwanda influence: the tone pattern is the same as in Kinyarwanda on this stem.

3.26. 'But' (Item 26)

3.26.1. Item 26 is the term for 'but'. Throughout the area /kuṁka/ is found, but in remote areas, on the periphery and in a few other places /tʃiṁka/ occurs. This distribution would suggest that

/tʃiŋka/ is the older form. It is interesting that /ku/ is a Class 15 prefix and /tʃi/ a Class 7 prefix, although in the sentences in which the term for 'but' is used, it is not in agreement with any noun. Class 15 has a vague general idea of manner (for example, /ni kuo/ 'it is so', the negative of which is in Item 41) and Class 7 has a general use where no specific noun is referred to (for example, /tui:ne tʃi ɔkukʻra/ 'we have something to do'), but such comparisons do not justify one prefix more than the other in the case of 'but'.

3.26.2. In the centre and North-West and in a few cases elsewhere /kuɛŋka/ is used for 'but'. This has the same prefix as /kuŋka/, but a different stem. The stem /-ŋka/ is used throughout the Rukiga area in the meaning of 'only' with all the concord prefixes (see 2.4.2.), the choice of prefix depending, of course, on the noun referred to. In the forms for Class 1 and the first and second persons singular and plural however, a stem /-ɛŋka/ appears:

- [ɾowe ŋɛ:ŋka] 'only me'; [i:twe twɛ:ŋka] 'only us'
 [i:we wɛ:ŋka] 'only you'; [i:mwe mwɛ:ŋka] 'only you' (plural)
 [we wɛ:ŋka] 'only him, her'

(For [ɾowe] etc. see 2.4.4.) I did not test whether those speakers who use /kuɛŋka/ for 'but', used a stem /-ɛŋka/ for 'only' in Classes 2-16, but it is noteworthy to find this stem with a Class 15 prefix. (The alternation o/e is found in other Bantu languages: see Meeussen (1973)).

3.26.3. One informant had /kueka/ without any nasal. This form is interesting because Guthrie (1970) has Common Bantu *[-yeka] 'only' with no nasal.

3.27. 'Mushrooms' (Item 27)

3.27.1. In the North the usual term is /¹⁴tú:zi/, which is also used in Runyankore. In the South, the usual term is /¹⁴négere/. Three informants gave /mégere/, the stem which is found in Kinyarwanda, two of them with a Class 14 prefix and one with Class 13, the normal plural diminutive prefix in Rukiga. All three who gave this stem

were near the Kinyarwanda border, as was one who gave [imédzere], that is, the complete Kinyarwanda form with Kinyarwanda prefix phonetically unlike any prefix used in Rukiga. The occurrence along the Kinyarwanda border of a number of cases of /¹⁴tú:zi/ separated from the main area of this form suggests that it is an older one than /¹⁴négere/ which divides it.

3.27.2. Two informants devoiced the final consonant, so /¹⁴tú:si/ and one added a nasal, so /¹⁴tú:nzi/. Five gave /⁸tú:zi/ and four of these were along the border between /¹⁴tú:zi/ and /¹⁴négere/.

3.27.3. There were a few cases of differentiation of meaning. Two informants held /¹⁴tú:zi/ and /¹⁴négere/ to refer to different types of mushrooms, one of them being on the border between the areas of the two forms. Another took /¹⁴tú:zi/ to be a generic term, while /¹⁴négere/ referred to one specific type of mushroom.

3.27.4. The stem [tʃábire], used with a Class 9 prefix by one informant on the Kinyarwanda border, seems related to [tjabiri], used in Class 12 for one species of mushroom in Rutooro.

3.28. 'Hill' (Item 28)

3.28.1. The most common stem for 'hill' in the centre of the Rukiga area is /sozi/ or /ʃozi/ with a Class 3 prefix. (The status of [s] and [ʃ] is discussed in 3.5.) Ten informants gave the Class 11 prefix /ɔru/. They were all in remote places or on the periphery of the area, which indicates that it is the older form in this case. The Class 11 prefix is used with stems (that normally take a different prefix) to mark exceptional size, for example, /ɔmuféiʒa/ 'man', /ɔruféiʒa/ 'big man'. There are other nouns which appear only with the Class 11 prefix and in these cases the prefix does not indicate any special characteristics. It might therefore be thought that there is no significance in the use of /ɔru/ by those speakers for whom it is the sole prefix applied to the form for 'hill'. However, hills in Kigezi are big and the Bakiga have not always been there. Of the informants who had the Class 11 prefix, three were of the Bakimbiri clan; this clan migrated from a place now on the Uganda-

Zaire border lying in the Western branch of the Rift Valley (see 6.2.2.). One each of the informants with the Class 11 prefix comes from the Banyangabo and Basaakuru clans, who are said to have come from Mubari, in Eastern Rwanda, where the land is flat and low-lying compared to Kigezi (see Ngologoza, 1967). It therefore seems possible that when they reached Kigezi for the first time, these clans applied a prefix indicating size to the hills which they found.

3.28.2. In the North-East and East (but not the extreme South-East) the usual stem is /gongo/ with a Class 3 prefix. This form is found in a few cases elsewhere and once with the Class 11 prefix. The main area of /gongo/ includes the regions of less pronounced hill-valley topography; it is the only part which has a high degree of homogeneity in its choice of term.

3.28.3. In the West the stem /[^]rambi/ occurs with a cluster in the extreme West and more isolated instances in remote areas, suggesting an older form. This stem always has a Class 3 prefix, never Class 11. Although there are stems beginning with [r] which take a Class 11 prefix, the non-appearance of /[^]rambi/ with that prefix looks very much like a case of phonetic dissimilation. This prefix [ɾu] is found with stems for 'hill' beginning with [s], [ʃ] and [g], but not with the one that begins with [r]. It seems that it has been completely replaced by the Class 3 prefix alongside which it must have existed in the same way that the two prefixes exist alongside each other today for the other stems.

3.28.4. A number of informants gave answers differentiating between two terms. The differentiation was usually based on size and between /sozi/ or /ʃozi/ and /gongo/, the former being bigger than the latter in five cases as against one of the reverse. One informant differentiated size solely by means of the prefix, but for him Class 11 made a smaller hill than Class 3, quite contrary to the usual associations of Class 11. Another informant used the Class 11 prefix for a hill that people are afraid of. Another used /gongo/ for an inhabited hill and /[^]rambi/ otherwise. It is difficult to compare these varieties for two reasons. Firstly, it is possible

that other informants would also differentiate if pressed to do so. Secondly, one cannot tell in any case how much of the element of size is carried in the stem and how much in the prefix.

3.29. 'To sell' (Item 29)

3.29.1. The term for 'sell' was elicited in the frame /natʃi-/ , that is, the first person singular of the near past tense with a Class 7 object pronoun infix, the whole therefore meaning 'I sold it'. In the North-East and scattered elsewhere, particularly in the South-West, is found /tũ:nda/. This distribution indicates an older form. The most common form throughout the area, the newer form, is /gũza/. Guthrie (1970) gives Common Bantu * [gũd-] 'buy', which appears in Rukiga as /gũra/ 'buy'. The form /gũza/ has the shape of a causative formation (see 2.5.2.) from /gũra/, so that 'sell' is understood as 'cause to buy'. Although this formation is a regular one, it is not automatic and it is possible that /gũza/ has been borrowed from Luganda. Such a borrowing would, of course, be in keeping with the distributional evidence of /tũ:nda/ that /gũza/ is the newer form.

3.29.2. Six informants gave /tũ:nza/. This has the shape of a causative formation from /tũ:nda/. We would thus expect /tũ:nda/ to mean 'buy' and /tũ:nza/, 'sell'. Four informants did use /tũ:nda/ as 'buy' and gave /gũza/ as their term for 'sell', but they are a minority against those using /tũ:nda/ as 'sell'. This change of meaning of /tũ:nda/ from 'buy' to 'sell' could hardly be caused by the advent of /gũza/ 'sell' which would obviate any need for the change. The most one could argue would be that the new /gũza/ had caused uncertainty and vacillation in the use of the pair /tũ:nda/, /tũ:nza/ as their semantic field as a whole was affected. If, however, it were posited that /tũ:nda/ originally meant 'sell', then it could be argued that for those who now use it to mean 'buy' it changed its meaning because /gũza/ made it redundant in the sense of 'sell'. To change meaning within the same semantic field is one effect of /gũza/ in this theory; another is the form /tũ:nza/, created on the analogy of /gũra/, /gũza/, from the already existing

/tú:nda/. The fact that one informant gave both /tú:nda/ and /tú:nza/ as 'sell' seems to show that there is not a causative relationship in practice between the two words, so that the suggestion that /tú:nda/ originally meant 'sell' and not 'buy', although contrary to the evidence of the phonetic form, is in fact a reasonable one.

3.29.3. The form [guháha], given by one informant, is found in Kinyarwanda, where it means 'to go and get provisions'. In that language there is a single verb for 'to buy' and 'to sell'; the application by the informant of a buying term to selling is therefore a matter of Kinyarwanda influence.

3.30. 'To fish' and 'to shave' (Items 30, 31)

3.30.1. The verb 'fish', Item 30, was elicited in the context /na-~~ebia~~pa^ánya/, using the near past tense and a noun object meaning 'fish', so 'I caught fish'; the verb is also used intransitively. The verb 'shave', Item 31, was elicited in the context /na-ei^ótse/, using the near past tense and a noun object meaning 'hair', so 'I shaved hair'; this verb is also capable of intransitive use. The two items are grouped together because the form /téga/ is found in both. This is the case in Runyankore.

3.30.2. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that this homonymy occurs in the North-East (Area 1) and in two cases in the East. The remaining instances are few and scattered, but include two in the extreme South.

3.30.3. There are few cases of /téga/ 'shave' together with a different root for 'fish'. These cases are to be found mostly within or on the periphery of the areas where homonymy is found, indicating perhaps that the choice of another word for 'fish' is an attempt to avoid the homonymy.

3.30.4. Such an attempt seems also to explain the occurrence of three examples of /mua/ 'shave' deep inside the area of /téga/ (informants 1,2,7). In addition to these three, /mua/ fills the

whole of the area not covered by /téga/. It is also used in Kinyarwanda.

3.30.5. The form /téga/ 'fish' extends over a wider area than that of /téga/ 'shave', covering much of Areas 2, 3, 6, 11 and 12 in addition. There are a few scattered cases elsewhere, but the form /foha/ is otherwise found.

3.30.6. The Rukiga noun for 'fish' is a very transparent construct: /Ebi+atepanza/ 'Class 8 prefix+of+lake' i.e. 'those of the lake'. Since near-by languages like Kinyarwanda and Rutooro have independent roots for the term (/fi/ and /sonzi/ or /fu/ respectively), the implication is that fishing has not traditionally been an occupation of the Bakiga. This belief is strengthened by the fact that Lake Bunyonyi contains no fish. (The first European travellers found it without fish and a recent attempt to stock it failed.) The Rukiga verb /foha/ 'fish' is found in Rutooro and Runyoro, but it is not cognate with the forms found in Runyankore or Kinyarwanda. This linguistic evidence seems to indicate that fishing was learnt by the Bakiga from the Batooro or Banyoro. It seems possible that contact with the Rutooro form was made at Lake Edward, perhaps through the salt trade at Katwe (see Baitwababo (1972b)), perhaps through the Banyabutumbi in the days when that tribe was more numerous in the North-West of Kigezi (see below, 6.2.8-10). The possibility that the word was acquired from Banyoro invaders (see 6.2.11.) seems less likely, since they would hardly have brought fish with them and in any case probably reached Rwanda via Ankole rather than Kigezi.

3.30.7. Guthrie (1970) gives a Common Bantu form *[-té-] 'set a trap'. Informant 23 gave /téga/ for swamp-fishing and /foha/ for lake-fishing and informant 105 gave /téga/ for fishing with a basket and /foha/ for fishing with a net. These two uses of /téga/ reflect the meaning given by Guthrie. On the other hand, informant 103 gave the exact opposite to informant 105, that is, he had /téga/ 'fish with a net' and /foha/ 'fish with a basket'. Informant 103 is in the area of /foha/ 'fish'; it seems, therefore, that he uses this root for the kind of fishing with which he is familiar, but he has

heard the form /tēga/ and ascribes to it the meaning of another kind of fishing. Informant 105 lies between two informants who had /tēga/ 'fish'; he, therefore, uses this root for the kind of fishing he knows and /foha/ for another kind. Informant 23 is in the area of /tēga/ 'fish' and, in Area 1, he is a long way from any lake; he uses /tēga/ for fishing in the swamps which he knows and, perhaps having heard /foha/ used by some-one from the South of Kigezi, imputes to it a meaning of fishing in a lake. There are also several informants who use both the forms for 'fish' without any differentiation of meaning. Similarly, there are several who use both forms for 'shave' without any differentiation. The solitary example of differentiation between /tēga/ and /mua/ is in informant 45, who has the former meaning 'shave short' and the latter 'shave completely'. It is interesting that he uses /foha/ for 'fish' when around him the general form is /tēga/; it is almost as if he cannot use /tēga/ in the meaning of 'fish' because he has appropriated it from a meaning related to 'shave'.

3.30.8. The form /tēka/ is clearly connected with /tēga/, but the two cases of it are both in the area of /foha/ and used for 'fish'. It seems that /tēga/ has been borrowed but it is possible that there has been contamination from /tēka/ 'cook', which is found throughout the Rukiga area. The single case of /foba/, which is found in the area where /tēga/ is used for 'fish', may be a result of contamination from Kinyarwanda /roba/ 'fish'.

3.30.9. There were three cases of /⁵foke/ for 'hair' instead of /⁵fo⁵tse/. For [-ke] and [-tse] see 3.2.3.

3.30.10. The infinitive form [kwogɔfa], given by one of the Batwa, reflects Kinyarwanda /o:goɔfa/ 'shave'.

3.30.11. The other representative of the Batwa gave [najeɔnɛ] 'I caught fish'. This seems to exhibit a Kinyarwanda modified stem, but the Kinyarwanda modified stem /-fo:nze/ means 'forage' or 'melt'. Both Runyankore and Rutooro have /fonga/ 'stab' and Rutooro also has /fonda/ in the same meaning. Given the influence

of Rutooro in fishing discussed above, it would seem that informant 127 has taken from that language a term meaning 'stab' (the connection being that spearing is a method of fishing) and inflected it on the Kinyarwanda pattern.

3.32. 'Liver' (Item 32)

3.32.1. Through most of the area the form used is /⁷tigu/; in the North-East and East, however, it is /⁷tugu/. One informant in the North-East gave both /⁷tugu/ and /⁷i:ne/, a form also found in Runyankore. There were two cases of a voiceless final consonant, so /⁷tiku/.

3.32.2. Along the Kinyarwanda border, but separated from each other by considerable distances, there were three cases of /³izima/. In Kinyarwanda /³i:zima/ means 'liver' and it also means 'darkness', which in Rukiga is /³irima/. It is therefore of some interest that one informant, near the Kinyarwanda border, gave /³irima/ as his answer for 'liver': the homonymic situation in Kinyarwanda has been transferred to Rukiga on the stem generally used in that language only in the meaning of 'darkness'.

3.32.3. The form [etʃidzima], given on the Kinyarwanda border, shows the Kinyarwanda stem slightly differently and with a Class 7 prefix. The form [entʃezima], also on the border, seems related to it, but a strange thing has happened: [en] is the class prefix (with initial vowel) for Class 9; the stem is therefore [-tʃezima], the [tʃ] apparently having come from the Class 7 prefix used in [etʃidzima], but now treated as part of the stem itself.

3.34. 'Yesterday', 'Tomorrow', 'Oldentimes' and 'Old Man' (Items 34, 39, 54, 33)

3.34.0. The terms for 'tomorrow' and 'old man' are treated together with that for 'oldentimes' because in both of them a form for 'oldentimes' appears as an element. First, though, we shall consider the term for 'yesterday', which has in common with the term for 'tomorrow' an initial [p-].

3.34.1. The term for 'yesterday', Item 34, is remarkable for the phonetic diversity displayed by its forms within a constant framework of [ʎ-mw-báz-o]. In the North-East the usual form is the one found in Runyankore, [ʎamwábázjo]; the most common form in the remainder of the area is [ʎamwebázjo], differing in two points. An intermediate form of [ʎamwebázjo] does occur scattered throughout the area and there is one case of [ʎamwabázjo]. In the South-West there is a cluster of [ʎamwebázjo], which is found in a few cases elsewhere; this distribution suggests that the initial [ʎa-] may be an older form. One informant gave [ʎamwabázjo]. Compounds made up of [ʎa] and a noun are not uncommon and in them the noun drops the initial vowel of its concord prefix, for example, [ɔmɯrabwé:ndʒe] /ɔmɯ+ʎa+buŋge/ 'a wise man', in which /buŋge/ 'wisdom' appears without its usual initial /ɔ-/. In the forms for 'yesterday' the noun involved is /ɔmwebázio/ 'afternoon'. The form [ʎamwebázjo] shows [ʎa] followed by this noun without its initial /ɔ-/. The form [ʎamwebázjo], on the other hand, has that initial vowel, while the [a] of [ʎa] is lost by a general rule /a/ → [ɔ] (see 2.1.6.). The meaning of [ʎa] is obscure. In [ɔmɯrabwé:ndʒe] it seems to hold the element of possession. In Runyankore [ʎa] can have a demonstrative function, so [ʎá muŋeiza] 'that man'. If this function of [ʎa], otherwise dead in Rukiga (for 'that man' see 3.41.3-4) has remained fossilised in the term for 'yesterday', this would confirm that [ʎamwebázjo] is the older form, for [ʎamwebázjo] then shows a change that has occurred when the original function of the [ʎa] has been forgotten. The point of the [a] has been missed and in its place the initial vowel of the underlying noun that follows has re-emerged.

3.34.2. A different change away from the [a] is shown by [ʎamwebázjo], given by seven informants scattered across the area, [ʎamwabázjo], [ʎamwebázjo] and [ʎamwabázjo]. Item 6 (see 3.9.8.) showed the use of a central vowel only in the North-East and East. The cases of the central vowel in 'yesterday' are spread in all parts. Unlike Item 6, this is not a regular phonetic correspondence, but merely an isolated use of the central vowel, occurring in areas where there is no regular use of it. Although in these areas it is an additional sound whose occurrence cannot be predicted in terms of its phonetic environment, we should not be justified in setting it up as a separate phoneme.

It is rather to be regarded as a free variant of /a/ limited to syllables which are tonally unmarked. The one informant who gave [ɾɛmwebéʒjo] must, of course, be considered as using a different phoneme, since the opposition [ɛ]:[a] can be found in many pairs.

3.34.3. Devoicing of final [-jo] occurred with two informants: this is perhaps a development towards the complete absence of [j], which is a feature of many of the examples given above. The two cases of [ʒ] for [z] are considered in 3.5. 14-15. The most diverse form that occurred with presumably the same derivation was [ɾamwejázo], given by one informant in a remote area. Only one informant gave a completely different root: [amagʒɾɔro]. He was on the Kinyarwanda border and the form is clearly from Kinyarwanda /urugororo/, which in that language means 'payment'.

3.34.4. The term for 'yesterday' and the term for 'tomorrow', Item 39, have in common the initial [ɾ], but with 'tomorrow' I found no case of [a] after it. In most of the North and East the form used is [ɾɛntʃakare], found also in Runyankore, while in the South it is [ɾɛnsákare]. The last two syllables are identical with a form for 'oldentimes', which seems rather inappropriate (for a word referring to future time) from a European point of view, but in neighbouring Kinyarwanda we find a single word used for both 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' and in some other Bantu languages /kare/ itself goes both forward and backward in time. This Bantu way of looking at time thinks of its distance from the time of the utterance without taking into account the direction of that distance. The first syllables of the term for 'tomorrow' in Rukiga seem to show a connection with [ɾénsja], which means 'the day after tomorrow', but given this meaning, one would expect that [ɾɛnsákare] would then refer to a time further into the future. Three informants, all in remote areas and well separated from each other, actually gave [ɾɛnsjáakare], thus confirming the link with [ɾénsja] in derivation, since their distribution indicates an older form. A connection with [sja] 'new' is doubtful. (For a further case of [sj] and [s] see 3.41.6-7). Two informants gave [ɾɛnʃákare]: see 3.5. 14-15.

3.34.5. [mudʒitʰ:ndo] and [mugitʰ:ndo], given by the Batwa informants on the Kinyarwanda border, reflect a stem /to:ndo/ 'morning' used in that language with the Class 7 prefix [gi]. The [dʒi] of the first form above shows a Rukiga realisation of /gi/, since [gi] is never found in Rukiga. Kinyarwanda [gi] is normally [tʃi] in Rukiga, however, since Dahl's law (see 3.20.6) does not apply in Rukiga. In [mudʒitʰ:ndo] it clearly has operated: [tʃ] has become [dʒ]. The [mu] means 'in'. [néʒu], given by one of the Batwa, is a further Kinyarwanda form: the term used for both 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow', referred to above, is [éʒo]. The initial [n] in the form given is possibly /na/, translatable as 'and' or 'with', but used more broadly as an intensifier, the loss of the /a/ before [e] being regular (see 2.1.6.).

3.34.6. Item 54 is the term for 'oldentimes', elicited in a phrase containing the name of the informant's tribe, so /abatʃiga baa~/ 'the Bakiga of old', /abahraro baa/ 'the Bahororo of old' and so on. Two forms are found in this item, but in both of them the phonetic shape is ambiguous for the phonological transcription. Including the Class 2 concord prefix /ba/ and the stem /-a/ 'of', the form [bakáre] may represent /ba+a+akáre/, in which /akáre/ is a Class 12 noun with initial vowel and class prefix /a+ka/ and stem /-re/ (and /aaa/ is realised as [a] by a double application of /aV/→[V]: see 2.1.6.) or /ba+a+káre/, in which /káre/ is a form without any class prefix (in synchronic terms, although, of course, diachronically this analysis does not exclude the possibility that /káre/ has evolved from a Class 12 noun). Similarly, the form [beíra] may represent /ba+a+reíra/, in which /reíra/ is a Class 5 noun with initial vowel and class prefix /e+i/ and stem /-ra/ (and aae/ is realised as [e] by a combination of /aa/→[a] and /ae/→[e]), or /ba+a+ira/, in which /ira/ is a form without any class prefix (at least synchronically). For each of the forms both analyses can be supported by parallel examples. One pair will suffice here. Since /abatʃiga baa emisozi/ 'Bakiga of the hills' is realised as [abatʃiga bemiʒozi], applying the realisation /aɛ/→[e], we know that a noun after /-a/ 'of' does not lose the initial vowel from its prefix. Therefore [abatʃiga bamasáza] 'Bakiga of the counties' must be analysed as /abatʃiga baa amasáza/,

parallel to /baa akáre/. On the other hand, [abatfíga ba kúnu], 'Bakiga of here' must represent /abatfíga baa kúnu/, in which /kúnu/ is a form without any class prefix, since if /ku/ were a class prefix it would have the initial vowel /ɔ-/ and so we should hear * [abatfíga bɔkúnu]. If we consider both the forms as nouns, /akáre/ and /eíra/, their stems /-re/ and /-ra/ are noticeably similar. According to Guthrie (1970), the two forms are related: /akáre/ is from * [-kádé <-kádà <ka+da], while /eíra/ is from * [-da]. This evidence indicates that diachronically we are quite definitely dealing with stems that have received concord prefixes. Since /eíra/ preserves the oldest stem-vowel, we might suppose that it is an older form than /akáre/. This is in fact supported by their distributions: /akáre/ is usual throughout the Rukiga area, while /eíra/ is scattered in its distribution, suggesting an older form.

3.34.7. Item 33 is the term for 'old man', a term of respect, not derision or sympathy. The usual form throughout the area is /gurusí/. In a patch in the extreme South and scattered elsewhere a form /¹keíra/ is found. This would seem to contain the form /eíra/ considered above. Throughout the area the stem for 'old woman' is [-kéikuru], which, bearing in mind the existence of a stem [-kúru] in /'kuru/ 'senior man, older brother or sister', looks like /ka + eikuru/ with /ae/ realised regularly as [e]. Parallel to this we might suppose that [-keíra] represents /ka + eíra/. There is, however, no correlation between the occurrence of this form and that of /eíra/ in Item 54, so if the origin suggested for [ɔmukeíra] is correct, the formation has become fossilised and its derivation forgotten.

3.34.8. The form [ɔmukámbe], given by one informant on the Kinyarwanda border, reflects Kinyarwanda [umuka:mbwe]. In that language there is also a form [ke:ra] 'oldentimes'. The patch of [ɔmukeíra] in the South of the Rukiga area is on the Kinyarwanda border and one informant actually gave [ɔmukeíra]. The complete answer to the origin of [ɔmukeíra] may well be a mixture of two courses: it could have come through Kinyarwanda [umuke:ra] and the diphthongisation could have resulted from popular etymology relating it to /ɔmu + ka + eíra/.

3.34.9. One informant gave /^lguru^si/ as 'old man' and /^lkei^ara/ as 'very old woman'; this answer strengthens the case for the parallel with /^lkei^ukuru/ made out above.

3.36. 'Where is it?' (Items 36, 37)

3.36.1. Item 36 is the enclitic meaning 'where?' which may be added after any verb. In the North-East (but not, strangely, in the extreme North-East corner) and the far East the form is /-hi/, but elsewhere it is /-he/. The former is found also in Runyankore and is a regular reflex of Common Bantu *[-pí]; the latter, a skewed shape, is found in Kinyarwanda.

3.36.2. The form for 'where?' was elicited in the phrase 'Where is it?' consisting of a Class 7 verbal prefix, the verb 'be' and the enclitic. Taking /-he/ as the normal form for 'where?' we should expect [tʃirihe], the high tone on the penultimate syllable being a regular phonetic feature (see 2.3.3.). This form is, however, quite uncommon: there is a small cluster of cases of it in the South around Lake Bunyonyi and a few isolated cases elsewhere. Somewhat more common is [tʃiráhe], which is found in patches in the South-West, East, South-East and centre of the area, as well as in the North-East with [-hi]. This alternation between [i] and [a] in the phrase 'Where is it?' is the substance of Item 37. The verb 'be' is /-ri/; [tʃiráhe] shows a verb ending like an ordinary verb. (The normal verb ending is [-a]; this is given high tone as the penultimate syllable; the change in quality from [a] to [a] is conditioned by the following [h]: see again 2.3.3.) The fact that [tʃiráhe] occurs in patches might suggest that it is an older form, disappearing perhaps because of the inconsistency with [-ri] which in all its other combinations is obviously more frequent than in 'where' questions alone. On the other hand, since other verbs (with ending [-a]) are so many, one must admit of the possibility of analogic change. It is no argument against this possibility to say that the defective verb [-ri] occurs in situations in which other verbs do not occur or that it is so frequently used that it is very resistant to change; the point is that the suffix [-he], being used

with all sorts of verbs, is most usually preceded by [-á] and it is only before [-he] that we are considering an analogic change away from [-ri], not in other cases of the verb.

3.36.3. Some light may be shed on this issue by the form [tʃiriɣkáhe], which is the most common of all, occurring in all parts of the area, including the North-East with the ending [-hi]. [ɣkáhe] is the word for 'where' which occurs on its own apart from verbs: it is a free form whereas [-he] is a bound form. With ordinary verbs, however, the bound form is always used, never [ɣkáhe]. The use of [ɣkáhe] with [-ri] makes this anomalous verb sound like an ordinary verb * [riɣka] used with the usual suffix [-he], the [á] with high tone being normal as explained above. In this case, the use of [ɣkáhe] is an example of analogy operating in a sense together with popular etymology: the analogic change is strengthened by the possible new interpretation. Any analogic change from [tʃirihe] to [tʃiráhe] is made redundant by the form [tʃiriɣkáhe], which has the favoured ending [-á] before [-he], but at the same time does not change the vowel of the verb [-ri] itself, whereas [tʃiráhe] does change that and is therefore a less readily acceptable form.

3.38. 'Why?' (Item 38)

3.38.1. The idea of 'why?' is expressed in Rukiga in many different ways: a causative verb ('what made you...?'), a prepositional verb ('for what?'), a passive verb ('by what were you...-ed?'), a verb of bringing ('what brought you to ...?') or, in the negative, a verb of preventing ('what stopped you from ...?'). The means of expressing the idea that is the subject of this item is a preposition with an interrogative 'what?'.

3.38.2. Throughout the area the usual form is [ahabwɛ̂:ntʃi]. (For the phonetic variants of [bw], see 3.7.4.) This is made up of /ahábue/ 'because of' and /ɛ̂ntʃi/ 'what?' (used in expressions like /etʃi ni ɛ̂ntʃi/ [etʃi nɛ̂:ntʃi] 'this is what?' i.e. 'What is this?'). In the centre and East there occurs also [ahá:ntʃi], which is also used in Runyankore. This shows /aha/ 'on' with /ɛ̂ntʃi/ 'what?' Its distribution in remote areas suggests that it is an older form

in Rukiga. Before pronouns /aha/ becomes [ahári] (e.g. [ahári'we] 'on you', 'about you'); one informant gave [aharítʃi], that is, [ahāri] and /tʃi/, the form for 'what' used as an enclitic to a verb (e.g. [ʔrakɔrátʃi] 'what are you doing?'). Other uses of /tʃi/ rather than /ɛntʃi/ in the answers for 'why?' included [ahabwétʃi], made up of /ahābue/ and /tʃi/ with a regular change of [e] to [ɛ] and high tone on the penultimate syllable (see 2.3.3.). Only one informant gave this form, but two gave [ahabwâ:tʃi], both on the periphery of the area, but widely separated from each other, one being in the South-West and the other in the North. [ahabwâ:tʃi] suggests some interference from the possessive particle /-a/ 'of'; given the evidence for it here, it is possible that [ahâ:ntʃi], noted above, might be analysable as /aha + a + êntʃi/. One informant was content with [nitʃi]: the copula /ni/ and /tʃi/, so 'it is what?'

3.41. 'Isn't it so?', a demonstrative and 'Thus' (Items 41, 42, 40)

3.41.1. Item 41 is a means of inviting agreement with what one has said. It is composed of the negative copula /ti/ and the emphatic stem with a Class 15 prefix, this class having a vague general idea of manner (cf. [ɔku] 'how'). In seven cases in the East and North-East, the negative copula was given as [tu] and this vowel is also found in Runyankore.

3.41.2. Throughout the Eastern side of the area and in the North-West and again in the South-West the usual form for the whole expression is /tikué/. The two discontinuous areas of this form suggest that it is older than /tikuó/, which occurs in a single area in the South. There are, however, scattered cases of /tikuó/ in most parts of the area.

3.41.3. Item 42 has the demonstrative stem used to refer to a noun that is not seen by the speaker, but previously specified and so known by the listener. The term was always elicited in Class 1 with /ɔmuʃéiz̩a/ 'man', but many informants at first used /ɔgu/, which is the demonstrative form used to refer to a Class 1 noun that is seen near to the speaker. I tried to make clear what I wanted by suggestions

like /tari kúnu/ ('he is not here'), but this remained the most difficult item to elicit in the whole material and with a few informants I was unable to ascertain which form they used for it.

3.41.4. Throughout the area the more usual form is /ʒgue/, but in the East and scattered elsewhere in remote and peripheral places (and some that could not be described in those terms) /ʒguo/ is found. Remote and peripheral distribution suggests a relic form and this might seem to be confirmed by Guthrie (1970), who has 'contoured items' ending in *[-o] for this term. There is, however, some evidence of an original vowel alternation in the stems of some dependent forms, with [e] in Class 1 and [o] in other classes, both in Rukiga and in other Bantu languages. (See 3.26.2. for 'only'; there is similar evidence for 'all' and 'both'.) This might explain why [e] is more widespread with /ʒgu-/ than with /tiku-/ , although there is in Item 26 a form with [e] in Class 15. The reason for the survival of /tikué/ where it does survive would seem to be that it is a much-used fixed expression which because of its frequent occurrence is very resistant to change: its irregular phonetic form is fortified by constant use.

3.41.5. While the most obvious answer to /tikuó/ is /nikuo/, that is, the positive copula with the same emphatic stem, so 'it is so', there is another answer which is often used. This is made up of the second person singular verbal prefix and a stem meaning 'thus' or 'in this way'. The force of the complete expression is then 'You (say) thus', the verb 'say' being clearly understood from the situation in which the expression is uttered, although, of course, the stem of 'thus' can be used with any verb in sentences like 'We eat thus' or 'They work thus'. Item 40 is the expression 'You (say) thus'.

3.41.6. In the North-East and East the only form found is [ɔ̃:tjo], which is also used in Runyankore. In the remainder of the area there are some scattered occurrences of [ɔ̃:tjo], including a number in the South-West, but the main form is [ɔ̃:sjo]. The scattered and peripheral distribution of [ɔ̃:tjo] suggests that it is the older of the two forms, not yet attacked in the North-East and East, where it still holds sway.

3.41.7. Six informants well separated from each other gave [ó:so] and four equally well separated gave [ó:sko]. The [k] in the latter is a Kinyarwanda feature, but three of the four who gave it were well away from the Kinyarwanda border. Three who were near the border had a [tʃ] : [ó:tʃo], [ɔtʃóa] and [ú:tʃo] were given by one informant each. The initial [ú:] in the last example is another Kinyarwanda feature. One remote informant had [ɔsóje], which might just possibly be a combination of [ó:so] and [je] ('yes') with tone raised on the new penultimate syllable (see 2.3.3.).

3.43. 'Girl' (Item 43)

3.43.1. In the North-East, East and extreme South-East and again in the South-West, the usual form is /lⁱ:stʃi/, which is also found in a few mostly remote places elsewhere. This distribution of two discontinuous patches and scattered instances between them suggests that the form once covered the whole area. The form which is found throughout except in the solid patches of /lⁱ:stʃi/ is /^hhára/. While the former occurs in Runyankore for 'girl', the latter is used in that language in the restricted meaning of 'daughter'. It was therefore of some interest to find in one informant the exact opposite of this, that is, /lⁱ:stʃi/ for 'daughter' and /^hhára/ for 'girl'. Another informant gave /^hhára/, but said he used the other form in the vocative construction [mwí:stʃi we]. Several informants, particularly in the North-West, used both forms without differentiation of meaning.

3.43.2. For consideration of the consonant combinations found in this item, see 3.5.20.

3.44. 'Beans' (Item 44)

3.44.1. In the North-East, centre, North-West, South-East and East the usual form is the one found in Runyankore: /⁸h[^]i:mba/. This form is also found in the South-West and in a patch to the South-West of the centre. This distribution in three discontinuous areas suggests that /⁸h[^]i:mba/ was once used over a wider region than it is today. The form which has displaced it in other parts is /⁸h[^]i:mbo/.

The ending /-o/ occurs in this stem in Kinyarwanda, but in that language the initial consonant is [ɸ] ; one informant on the Kinyarwanda border did give [ɸi^hi:mbo] (see 3.5.6.). There is an area of /⁸hi:mbo/ inside that of /⁸hi:mba/ and completely surrounded by it; this enclave would tend to invalidate the idea of /⁸hi:mbo/ being a newer form, were it not for the fact that the Southernmost informant in the enclave (no. 40) and informant 42 in the main area of /⁸hi:mbo/ are in the same valley, being separated by informant 41 who gave /⁸hi:mba/. It seems reasonable to suppose that the newer form has spread up this valley (a road runs along it) and for the moment left informant 41 with the older form. In the enclave, one informant gave both forms, a sure sign of a state of change in so common a term as 'beans' (which are cultivated throughout the area).

3.44.2. The forms [ɸi^hanzáru] and [ɸi^hanzári] are cognate with a Luganda form [ɸi^handzalo]. It is hardly likely that a borrowing from Luganda would be found only with the Batwa on the Kinyarwanda border, for they have had little, if any, contact with the Baganda administration. The form must be a 'native' one to them, which they do not share with their immediate neighbours.

3.46. 'Lion' and 'Market' (Items 46, 45)

3.46.1. In the South the usual term for 'lion' is /⁹táre/, while in the North it is /⁷tsú:ntsu/. The latter is the form now used in Runyankore, where the former has become taboo on account of its use as a name by kings of Ankole. The non-use of /⁹táre/ in the North-East might be an operation of the same taboo based on the close relations that existed between the kingdom of Mpororo in that area and Ankole. The present area of the non-occurrence of /⁹táre/ is smaller than the greatest extent of Mpororo (see 5.2.6.), but it is larger than the area of the Bahororo tribe, which we must consider as the kernel of the kingdom. Clearly the form /⁷tsú:ntsu/ has spread where the original reason for its adoption has ceased to apply and we can see in its spread an indication of the area over which Mpororo had influence: a linguistic confirmation that Mpororo extended beyond the Bahororo themselves. The eight informants who gave both /⁷tsú:ntsu/ and /⁹táre/ were all in the area beyond the

Mpororo kernel, further evidence of a recent spread of the newer form. One informant, likewise situated, differentiated between the two forms by saying that /⁹táre/ was applied to a male lion: he has retained the old form by a specialisation of its meaning. Another informant, near the border with Ankole, had a different specialisation: for him /¹tsú:ntʃu/ refers to a very fierce lion.

3.46.2. The form /⁹táre/ is also found in Kinyarwanda and there is evidence along the border of the influence of that language. [intáre] shows the vowel quality of the Class 9 initial vowel in Kinyarwanda ([i-]), but the Rukiga tone pattern [éntare], on the other hand, given by two informants, shows the Rukiga initial vowel quality with the Kinyarwanda pattern of a high tone on it.

3.46.3. The form [ɛmpɔrɔgoma], used by one informant, is found in Luganda. This informant gave his clan as Bahinda, the clan of the kings of Ankole. He avoids the taboo form /táre/, but replaces it in a different way from the others.

3.46.4. The form [ɛtʃɪɲɔgú:si], given by one of the Banyabutumbi informants, is found in none of the neighbouring languages. Its origin is, therefore, a mystery.

3.46.5. The usual form for 'market' throughout the area is /¹²táre/. This form occurs also in Luganda. The fact that it has the stem taboo in the meaning of 'lion' does not bar its use for 'market'. The Class 12 prefix is used for diminutives. For those who still use /⁹táre/ for 'lion', 'a small lion' must be expressed by /¹²táre/ and there is therefore homonymy between 'small lion' and 'market'.

3.46.6. The form /¹²ʒágiro/ occurs mostly in remote areas and on the periphery, a distribution pointing to its being the older form, now largely replaced by /¹²táre/.

3.46.7. The form [ɛmuʃóko] given by an informant on the Kinyarwanda border, has probably been borrowed from that language, which has the same stem (see also 3.5.14-15). The form [akátare], given by three

informants near the Kinyarwanda border, has a feature found often in that language, but not so commonly in Rukiga: high tone on the class-prefix before a polysyllabic stem.

3.48. 'Who?' or 'Which?' and a greeting (Item 48)

3.48.1. After initial greetings, polite enquiry after news may be phrased [nigáhe] or [nigáha], which is made up of the positive copula /ni/ and a stem /-he/ or /-ha/ meaning 'who?' or 'which?' with a Class 6 concord prefix (sc. /amakúru/ 'news'). The back vowel in the prefix shows assimilation before the following [h] (see 2.3.3.). The two forms of the stem are found side by side throughout the area, completely mixed in their distribution. One informant gave [nigáhi] with the stem used in Runyankore. (For another example of the correspondence i/e between Runyankore and Rukiga see 3.36.1., though in Item 36 a number of informants had /-hi/, some of whom have /-he/ in the present item.) One informant gave [nigáye], the uvular fricative being an abnormal sound in Rukiga.

3.49. 'Last week' (Item 49)

3.49.1. The idea of 'last' in 'last month', 'last year' and so on is conveyed by a relative clause with the imperfective (because of the relationship of the month or year to the present time: see 3.16.2.) of /híngura/ 'pass' or /hua/ 'come to an end'. (For the latter verb see also 3.7.7.) In the phrase for 'last week' ^{the} former verb appears as /ehingú^hre/; this form is scattered in remote areas and on the periphery, suggesting that it is the older of the two. The other verb appears as /ehueí^hre/; it is found elsewhere.

3.49.2. Three anomalous forms occur: [eráfize], which shows Kinyarwanda [fira] 'finish'; [erapéje], which I can link only with Kinyarwanda [perera] 'be slippery'; and [paserére], which, in view of the previous form, might perhaps be connected with Luganda [se:rera] 'slip'.

3.49.3. The idea of 'week' is conveyed by the word used for 'Sunday'. This is generally /sabiti/, but /sande/ appears isolated in remote areas. The conclusion that the latter is an older form

is confirmed by the evidence that /sande/ is from Luganda and must have been introduced by the Baganda administrators who arrived in the 1910's (see Bisamunyu (1972), Denoon (1972b), Ngologoza (1967) and Ssebalijja (1972)), while /sabiti/ was used by the European missionaries who reached the area in the 1920's (see Gregory-Smith (undated) and Ngologoza (1967)). In further remote areas /esande/ and /esabiti/ occur with the initial vowel (often used without a class prefix: see 3.60.) of Class 9 nouns. This attempt to relate the borrowed words to the existing noun-class system probably tended to happen in all parts of the area, but in less remote places frequent internal contacts would mean that the form without the vowel would often be heard and so re-assert itself.

3.49.4. It is noticeable that /sande/ does not appear combined with /ehingui:re/, although both are older than their rivals and both are in the more remote parts of the area.

3.49.5. The use of [ʃ] for [s] in this item is referred to in 3.5.14-15.

3.50. 'To sleep' and 'to forget' ('Items 50, 23)

3.50.1. The verb 'sleep', Item 50, was elicited in the first person singular of the Near Past Tense, so beginning /na~/. In the North-East, East and extreme South-East, the usual form is /gueʒégera/. This form is also found scattered in the North-West, South-West and occasionally elsewhere, suggesting that it is an older form, now in discontinuous patches and isolated cases. The main form in the remainder of the area is /hú:ngira/, which is found in all parts except the North-East and East (apart from two cases there where it was given together with /gueʒégera/ without differentiation of meaning). Sixteen informants in remote and peripheral areas gave /hu:ngíra/ and this distribution suggests a relic form.

3.50.2. Three other informants besides the two already noted gave both /hú:ngira/ and /gueʒégera/ without differentiation of meaning and one gave these two forms together with /gueʒágira/, all three forms having the same meaning for him! Two gave /hú:ngira/ as

meaning 'doze' while /gue³égera/ meant 'sleep fully' and one said /hú:ngira/ meant 'lie in bed, not sleeping' or 'sleep in a chair', while /gue³égera/ just meant 'sleep'. All three who used both forms with different meanings were near the border between the areas of the two forms.

3.50.3. [nahu:ndz³é] and [nahu:ndz³éje], given near the Kinyarwanda border, show in their endings influence from that language. The Kinyarwanda stem for 'sleep' was used by one informant on the border who had /sínzira/. The one case of an infinitive [gu³éndzira] is also clearly related to the Kinyarwanda form.

3.50.4. The stem /³áma/ is used throughout the area meaning 'lie'; one informant specifically denied using any of the above terms for 'sleep' and insisted that he would use only /³áma/ in this meaning.

3.50.5. The form /nágira/ was given by the Westernmost informant and by another in the East. I have not been able to trace this root in any other Bantu language. The form given does, however, have in common with all the other forms in this item the shape of a prepositional extension in its ending: /-ir-/ and /-er-/ are used for the prepositional extension of the verb quite regularly (see 2.5.2., Note 15). The idea of 'sleep' does not seem to have any prepositional sense; nor is there any indication of any meaning of the roots involved if the apparent prepositional extension is removed.

3.50.6. Two of the anomalous forms given in Item 23, with the meaning 'forget', also seemed to have a prepositional verbal extension. They were [tájeberwa], which adds the extension to the usual Rukiga stem of /ebua/, and [tébádzirwa], which reflects the Kinyarwanda stem [í:bagirwa], but has a Rukiga realisation of /g/ as [d³]. Both of these forms were given on the Kinyarwanda border. As with the forms for 'sleep', the exact force of the extension is not clear.

3.50.7. Another form given in Item 23 on the Kinyarwanda border was [táhuba]. In Kinyarwanda [huba] means 'have no more milk' of cows, while in Runyankore it means 'be greedy'. Guthrie (1970) has,

however, a common Bantu *[-pùb-] 'become stupid', of which [huba] could be a regular reflex, the change of meaning to 'forget' seeming a not unreasonable one. Kinyarwanda has another form [huga] 'forget momentarily'. ~~If~~ The association of [b] and [g] in the correspondence of Rukiga [ga] or [bwa] and Kinyarwanda [bga] (see 3.7.4.) may perhaps have led to their confusion and alternation in [huga] / [húba] : the [w] might also have been introduced into this stem through a mental connection with [ebwa], which is the usual form for 'forget'.

3.50.8. This form /ebua/, used in Item 23 by all informants except the three just reviewed, is of interest in that its ending has the shape of a passive verbal extension (see again 2.5.2.). The resemblance is not merely one of phonetic shape, but also one of morphological behaviour. If /ebua/ were a simple verb, we should expect its modified root (see 2.5.1.) to be */-ebueire/. In fact it is /-ebirue/, following the pattern of passive verbs, that is, changing the final /-e/ of the modified root of the underlying simple verb to /-ue/, as, for example, /kúnda/ 'love' with modified root /-kunzire/ and /kúndua/ 'be loved' with modified root /-kunzirue/. It is difficult to see any passive sense in the meaning 'forget'. The direction of /ebua/ is, in fact, reversible, that is, one finds /akaebua ebíntu/ lit. 'he forgot the things' and /ebíntu bikamuebua/ lit. 'the things forgot him'. There is no form */eba/ alongside /ebua/ which would indicate that the latter has a passive modification of the former. It is interesting, though, that the two anomalous forms considered in 3.50.6. similarly have endings with the shape of passive extensions.

3.51. 'To show' and 'To give' (Items 51, 69)

3.51.1. The verb 'show', Item 51, was elicited in the context /namu~/, using the near past tense with a Class 1 object infix, the whole therefore meaning 'I showed him'. Throughout the area two forms are found completely mixed side by side: /éreka/, which is also found in Kinyarwanda, and /sreka/, the root used in Runyankore. Only in the

centre is there a patch of /éreka/ without occurrences of /ɔ́reka/. Five informants, two of them in remote places, gave /eréka/ and one, in a remote area, gave /ɔ́reka/. Both /éreka/ and /ɔ́reka/ have in their endings the shapes of stative verbal extensions (see 2.5.2., Note 15). If there is a derivation through /êra/ 'be white, be clear', then /éreka/ may be the older of the two forms.

3.51.2. The verb 'give', Item 69, was elicited in the context /natʃimu-/ , using the near past tense with Class 7 and Class 1 object infixes, the former being the 'direct object' and the latter the 'indirect', so 'I gave it to him'. This order of direct infix before indirect was kept in all responses. (With nouns the reverse order of objects applies.) The two main forms given were [natʃimúha] (with high tone on the penultimate syllable: see 2.3.3.) and [natʃimuhézeza], showing verbal stems /ha/ and /hézeza/. Runyankore has both of these also, while Kinyarwanda has only the former. Four informants gave /heréza/, two of them in remote parts; the comparison with /eréka/ above is of interest. One of the Batwa gave [natʃimuhéje], showing Kinyarwanda influence in the formation of the modified root, cf. Kinyarwanda [-háje].

3.52. 'To finish' (Item 52)

3.52.1. The verb 'finish' was elicited in the context /na-/ , using the near past tense, so 'I finished' or 'I have finished'. In the centre of the area the only form found is /mara/; this is the form used in Kinyarwanda. It occurs in all other parts of the Rukiga area, but is there alongside /héza/, the root used in Runyankore. It is noticeable that /héza/ is most frequent along the Kinyawanda border (informants 120, 121, 129, 132, 133, 134, 135 and 138), that is, precisely where one might have expected the Kinyarwanda form (see Chapter 4). A number of informants gave both forms, but only one differentiated meanings in them: for him /mara/ was used after eating and /héza/ otherwise. Guthrie (1970) distinguishes between the meanings in his two Common Bantu forms, *[-mad-] 'finish' (transitive) and *[-péd-] 'become finished'.

3.52.2. That these two meanings are not mutually exclusive is demonstrated by the answer of one of the Batwa. He gave [ndarand³ize], which reflects Kinyarwanda [ra:ɟira] 'be finished'. His form shows a Rukiga phonology in its use of [d³] rather than [g] before [i], but has Kinyarwanda tense-markers in its use of an infix /ra/ with a root modified along Kinyarwanda lines in its ending [-íze]. (In Kinyarwanda /ra/+ modified root makes the immediate past tense, disjunct type.) The other Mutwa gave [namád³a]. Since he had [d³] for more normal [z] in Items 20, 28 and 62, his answer may be interpreted as having a root equivalent to /maza/. This would be a causative form (see 2.5.2.) of /mara/. (The sequence [d³a] is foreign to Rukiga phonology: see 3.2.1.)

3.55. 'Box', 'Month' and 'Thank you' (Items 55, 62, 35)

3.55.0. These items are grouped together because in each of them there is a possibility, sometimes strong, sometimes less so, of borrowing from Luganda. Further examples of Luganda loan-words (possibly) are in Items 29, 45, 49, 70, 71 and 72. (See 3.29., 3.46.5., 3.49. and 3.70. Bibliographical references are made in 3.49.3.)

3.55.1. Item 55 is the term for 'box'; it seems certain that the forms used are originally from Swahili [sanduku], taken into Rukiga via Luganda [essandu:kó]. Throughout the Rukiga area two forms exist side by side, /esandú:ko/ and /esandú:tʃe/. In addition, two informants gave /esandú:kue/ and one /esandú:ke/.

3.55.2. Clearly /esandú:ko/ has the 'original' ending and we are forced to ask why for many speakers [-ko] has become [-tʃe]. There are plenty of words in Rukiga ending in [-ko] (for example, Item 1 in the present material), so there is no analogic pressure for change. It would seem rather that there is an element of semantic significance in [-tʃe] : a stem of this phonetic form is used to mean 'small' (with an appropriate concord prefix) and the form /esandú:tʃe/ is used of small containers rather than large ones. It must be stressed that such a suggestion runs counter to normal Rukiga practice, which uses

a prefix to convey the diminutive idea and does not compound nouns with unprefixated adjectival stems. (The Southern Bantu languages do form diminutives by the suffixation of an adjectival stem.) It is not being suggested, though, that such a formation in /eʃandú:tʃe/ is conscious or deliberate; it is a case of popular etymology that is proposed, an attempt to infuse meaning into an otherwise totally alien form.

3.55.3. Nine informants, all on the periphery of the area, had [s] where all the others had [ʃ] (see 3.5. 14-15). The peripheral distribution of [s] shows us that it is older, but we know this already from Luganda and Swahili. Why then should [s] have changed to [ʃ] in the majority of the area? (It has hardly done so at all in /sande/ and /sabiti/: see 3.49.) The Bakiga, as a result of their contact with the Baganda, may be aware that [s] in Luganda often corresponds to [ʃ] in Rukiga (see 3.5.2,12). The change from [s] to [ʃ] in [eʃandú:ko] could have been made on the analogy of that correspondence. Alternatively, if the term reached Rukiga via Runyankore, geographically feasible since the Runyankore area lies between those of Luganda and Rukiga, then the [ʃ] could have been there from that language. If that happened, it would mean that the peripheral cases of [s] in Rukiga are not 'original', but changes from [ʃ]. This would accord with the observation made in 3.5.15. that a change from [ʃ] to [s] occurring in many forms has been more thoroughly applied on the periphery than in the centre of the area.

3.55.4. The cases of /eʃandú:kue/ and /eʃandú:ke/ look like intermediate forms between /eʃandú:ko/ and /eʃandú:tʃe/. If there is a gradual process of /eʃandú:ko/ > /eʃandú:kuo/ (the /u/ is in Swahili) > /eʃandú:kue/ (an alternation between /kuo/ and /kue/ is attested in other forms: see 3.41.2.) > /eʃandú:ke/ > /eʃandú:tʃe/ ([ke] occurs for /kae/, but /ke/ is unfamiliar: see 3.2.2.), then the interpretation of popular etymology suggested in 3.55.2. would perhaps expedite the change from /eʃandú:ke/, with its unfamiliar ending, to /eʃandú:tʃe/, with its ending holding a semantically significant element. It seems possible that the gradual phonetic change may have occurred in one place, after which other places adopted

the form /eʃandũ:tʃe/ by direct borrowing, the acceptance of the loan-word being strengthened by the interpretation of popular etymology.

3.55.5. Item 62 is the term for 'month', elicited in the phrase /~(concord prefix) a kána/ 'month of fourth' i.e. 'April'. Throughout the area /¹⁵ézi/ exists alongside /³ézi/, the difference between the two forms being solely in the class prefix used. There are more occurrences of /¹⁵ézi/ than of /³ézi/, but there are no parts of the area where the latter is completely absent. Guthrie (1970) believes that a shift from Class 3 to Class 15 took place in some languages with the root well after the Proto-Bantu period. This might imply that /³ézi/ is older than /¹⁵ézi/. On the other hand, since /³ézi/ is the form found in Luganda, there is a possibility that its appearance in Rukiga is a borrowing from that language. The Baganda administrators (see 3.49.3.) would in the course of their duties often have referred to dates and so the Luganda form for these would have become familiar to the Bakiga: this applies equally to the numbers (see 3.70.). The use of the Luganda form by Bakiga could have been encouraged by the prestige that would have attached to a mastery of dates and the hope of favour with the Baganda. In addition, the Class 15 prefix is used in Rukiga (and other Bantu languages) almost exclusively for verbal stems: the number of nouns like /¹⁵tu/ 'ear' and /¹⁵gũru/ 'leg' is very small. The prefix therefore appears anomalous and the way is prepared for its replacement by the more common Class 3 prefix.

3.55.6. Two informants on the Kinyarwanda border had /káne/ for /kána/ in the phrase: this is the form used in Kinyarwanda. The forms [ɔkwédʒi] and [ɔkwéʒi], also given there, do not reflect Kinyarwanda: the former is phonemically different ([dʒ] = /g/); the latter is considered in 3.5. 14-15.

3.55.7. The native form for 'thank you' is /kazáre/. Throughout the area there exists also a form [wébare], which comes from Luganda. The initial [w] in this form represents in Luganda a second person singular verbal prefix and the stem is derived from a verb meaning 'to thank'. Luganda has the same stem with an initial [j] representing

a third person singular verbal prefix. The form [jébare] appears also in Rukiga: there are concentrated patches in the North-East and extreme South-East, but it is found scattered everywhere amongst the occurrences of [wébare]. In Rukiga the significance of the initial [w] or [j] has in most cases been lost sight of and the two forms are used in the same meaning of 'thank you'. Since [jébare] is commonly used also in Runyankore, it is possible that it has been borrowed from that language; two different sources of borrowing would explain the existence side by side of two different forms. [wébare] is the more common of the two forms; this reflects its having been adopted as the result of contact with Baganda administrators in a number of places across the area. The patches of [jébare] on the border with the Runyankore area show that this form has spread from that area as a wave. The two forms therefore show two different kinds of borrowing: [wébare] is taken from a group of people whom historical circumstance has put in the area of the Bakiga; [jébare] is taken from a neighbouring group with whom there is some contact.

3.55.8. One informant gave [wébare] for addressing a person and [majébare] for referring to a third person; this clearly reflects the significance of the prefixes in Luganda. Another informant attached a different significance to them: he had [jébare] for one person and [wébare] for many. Another gave [wébare] as a greeting to somebody digging and [ɔjébare] otherwise. The formula 'thank you of the work' [ɔjamirimo] /~ia emirimo/ is commonly used when passing somebody digging on the hillside; it is interesting in that /-a/ 'of' is given a Class 9 concord prefix, implying that the form for 'thank you' is considered as a Class 9 noun, or at least as a dependent stem in agreement with a Class 9 noun that is understood.

3.55.9. Two informants on the Kinyarwanda border were unaffected by the Luganda or Runyankore forms in this item and gave [wakóze] and [wakóze], the type used in Kinyarwanda, meaning 'you have done' (sc. 'well'). (For the latter form see also 3.5. 14-15.)

3.56. 'Brewer' and 'Potter' (Items 56, 66)

3.56.1. In the South-East and in the North-West and a patch in the central North, the form used for 'brewer' is /^hhi:si/. In the East, North-East and South-West the main form is /^hhi:sa/. The distribution of the latter corresponds to that of many other items, for which see Chapter 4: its discontinuous areas are not unique. The discontinuous areas of /^hhi:si/ are more surprising: the thin belt of /^hhi:sa/ between the North-West and North central occurrences of /^hhi:si/, while itself looking vulnerable to attack from both sides, makes the North central patch of /^hhi:si/ into an 'island' completely surrounded by /^hhi:sa/. Since both forms show discontinuity in their distribution, it is difficult to use this feature in determining which form is older, unless the greater distance separating the two areas of /^hhi:sa/ is to be taken into account.

3.56.2. The two forms are, of course, formed on the same stem. The term was always elicited followed by /ua amaa^arua/ = [wam^ai:rua] ('of beer'), to ensure that the desired noun was being given. Normally, agentive nouns formed from simple verbs change the /-a/ of the verb stem to /-i/, e.g. /^ʃóma/ 'read', /^ʃómi/ 'reader', while agentive nouns formed from causative verbs retain the /-a/, e.g. /^ʃomésa/ 'teach' (see 2.5.2.), /^ʃomésa/ 'teacher'. The verb /^hhi:sa/ 'brew', considered synchronically, is not a causative, but since many causative verbs have the ending /-i:sa/ (see 2.5.2., note 15), it is phonetically like one. Considered diachronically, /^hhi:sa/ may well have a causative derivation connected with /sia/ 'be cooked', of which the modified root is /-^hhi:re/. The relative ages of /^hhi:si/ and /^hhi:sa/ are therefore still in doubt, since it may be that /^hhi:si/ is older and /^hhi:sa/ has arisen because of the present-day resemblance of /^hhi:sa/ 'brew' to a causative or that /^hhi:sa/ is older and /^hhi:si/ has arisen as a result of a re-interpretation of /^hhi:sa/ 'brew' as a simple verb when its association with /sia/ 'be cooked' became obscured by their divergent phonetic developments.

3.56.3. In the centre of the Rukiga area, between the patches of /^hhi:si/ and /^hhi:sa/, there is a cluster of /^hlengi/. This form

occurs throughout the area together with the verb from which it is derived, /^henga/, but where it is recorded in the survey, the informant specifically used neither /^hhi:sa/ nor /^hhi:si/, but only /^hengi/. As is the case with /^hkondozo/ in Item 57 (see 3.57.1.), it seems that where the two forms /^hhi:sa/ and /^hhi:si/ are in conflict, a third form, not subject to that conflict, is adopted instead of either of them. In this way the conflict is not resolved, but avoided. Two informants denied using any noun at all, but gave instead /^hhi:size/, that is, an imperfective form of the verb (see 3.16.2.) with a relative verbal prefix, so meaning 'the one who has been brewing'. One informant just said there was no word for the man who brewed.

3.56.4. The use of final /-e/ in an agentive noun, given by three informants in /^henge/, is unusual. The form /^henzi/ is phonemically different from /^hengi/, although the realisations of [ɔmwɛ:nzi] and [ɔmwɛ:ndzi], respectively, have phonetically something in common. The particular informant who uses /^henzi/, no. 138, is considered in 3.5. 14-15, as is the one who has [ɔmuhi:ʃa], no. 14. The use of [ɔgu] for [ɔmu] as the class prefix is dealt with in 3.20.8.

3.56.5. The form used for 'potter' in the extreme North-East and East and in isolated instances elsewhere is /^hnogózi/. In the remainder of the area /^hbú:mbi/ is used. Both these forms show a regular agentive suffix /-i/. (The first is from the verb /-nogóra/; [r>z] in the agentive suffix is a regular rule.) Four informants in places where the two forms meet gave both. Informant 68 differentiated in meaning between the two forms, saying /^hbú:mbi/ referred to a 'modeller', while /^hnogózi/ referred to a 'beater into shape'. This is interesting because Guthrie (1970) gives a Common Bantu form *[-búmb-] 'mould pottery', but no possible forerunner of /^hnogózi/. We may conclude that /^hbú:mbi/ is the older of the two forms for 'potter', while in the East /^hnogózi/ has generally changed its meaning from a 'beater into shape' to a 'potter', ousting the older form for that term.

3.56.6. The stem [-bú:ndzi], given by one informant on the Kinyarwanda border, has in its palatalisation perhaps been influenced by Kinyarwanda /^hbú:mbji/. Elsewhere in Rukiga /^hbú:ngi/ means 'tramp'.

3.57. 'Broom' (Item 57)

3.57.1. In the North-East /⁸éio/ is the only form found, while in the South-East /⁸éierezo/ is virtually the only one. In the central and Western parts of the area, there is a situation of conflict: not only are /⁸éio/ and /⁸éierezo/ found there, but also /⁸kándózo/. This last does occur throughout the area together with the cognate verb /kándóra/ 'sweep', but those informants who are recorded in the material with this form specifically did not use either /⁸éio/ or /⁸éierezo/. It seems that in the places where both /⁸éio/ and /⁸éierezo/ occur, both are rejected by some speakers in favour of the third form, /⁸kándózo/, which is held on to as a certain term, while there is uncertainty as to which of the other two should be adopted. Thus the solid areas of /⁸éio/ and /⁸éierezo/ are separated from each other by a belt where both vie with a third form; only in one place do the two solid areas meet each other: that is along the border of Ankole and Kigezi.

3.57.2. Two informants gave /⁴kándózo/, showing different class affiliation from the usual. The use of [eri], [erj] and [ɛdʒ] for the Class 8 prefix is dealt with in 3.20.7. The use of [ʒ] for [z] in this item is referred to in 3.5.14.

3.57.3. The form /⁴kúbuzo/ is related to Kinyarwanda /kúbu:ra/ 'sweep' and like /⁸kándózo/ to /kándóra/ 'sweep', the relationship seems to be through the intermediary of a causative verb (see 2.5.2.), since verbs ending in /-ra/ make causatives ending in /-za/. The form /⁴kándóza/, given by one informant, could then be interpreted as showing a causative agentive suffix (see 3.56.2.), meaning something like, 'the one who makes sweep'. One informant gave /⁸éiereza/, having the shape of a causative agentive suffix on a root which is (synchronically, at least) non-verbal.

3.58. 'Bull', 'Calf' and 'Dung' (Items 58, 59, 61)

3.58.1. In Items 20 and 21 (see 3.20. 1,3) the term for 'cows' was always present in the phrases elicited, while in Item 11 (see 3.2.6.)

the singular 'cow' was included. One informant on the Kinyarwanda border used /⁹ka/, which occurs in Kinyarwanda with this meaning (Rukiga /⁹ka/ means 'household': see 3.20.5.), but all other informants had /⁹te/, which occurs also in Runyankore, Rutooro and Luganda. This uniformity in the basic term for 'cow' is not matched by other cattle terms, which have a strong tendency to exhibit vowel alternations. In Kinyarwanda, Rutooro and Luganda /⁶ta/ appears in the meaning of 'cow's milk', while in Rukiga /⁶te/ is used, having the same stem as is used for 'cow', the meanings being differentiated by the prefix employed. Since /-ta/ may be a borrowing from a Cushitic language (for this and a discussion of 'cow' and 'milk' in Bantu languages see Ehret (1967)); it seems likely that Rukiga /⁶te/ is a change from /⁶ta/ by popular etymology relating the stem for 'milk' to that for 'cow'. In other terms, however, no such simple explanation springs to mind for the vowel alternations.

3.58.2. Item 58 is the term for 'bull'. In the two parts of the survey area where large herds are grazed, the East (that part of Ankole District which was included in the survey) and the Minera Valley (informants 24 and 25), /⁹nimi/ is used. The first vowel in this stem is found also in the Runyankore and Rutooro forms. Apart from where /⁹nimi/ occurs, the Rukiga area has /⁹númi/. The first vowel in this stem is found also in Luganda. It could be the older of the two forms if a derivation through Common Bantu *[-dúme] 'male' is posited: the Class 9 adjectival prefix (in agreement with /⁹te/ 'cow') would give *[-ndume] and operation of the Ganda law (see 3.20.2.) would produce *[-nume]. Since the stems for 'cow' and 'milk' are probably borrowings from non-Bantu languages, one might expect the term for 'bull', if not a further borrowing, to be a construct of the kind 'male cow'. On the other hand, /⁹nimi/ is used in areas with many cows; a traditional association with cows might lead one to seek an older form in these areas. It is interesting that the relative distributions of /i/ and /u/ in this item are the opposite of that seen in Item 32 (see 3.32.1.), where /u/ was found in the East and North-East and /i/ elsewhere. Two informants in the West had [énumi], a Kinyarwanda tone-pattern, although the Kinyarwanda term

uses a different stem. One informant on the border between /⁹-ními/ and /⁹-númi/ said that the former was plural and the latter singular. This seems to reflect a border-area situation of uncertainty over which form to adopt, resolved by using both with a differentiation of meaning. An interesting comparison may be made here with Gilliéron's dialect work in France: he found that where the areas of [pame] and [pame] 'apple-tree' met, there were cases of the former in the singular and the latter in the plural and vice versa (see Gilliéron (1918))

3.58.3. Item 59 is the term for 'calf'. In the North-East and East /⁹-néna/ is the only form found. In the remainder of the area this form is still quite common, but it exists alongside /⁹-nána/, the form that is used in Luganda, Rutooro, Runyankore and Kinyarwanda. The only place where there exists a sizable patch of /⁹-nána/ is in the South-West; elsewhere in the South it is completely mixed with /⁹-néna/. One of the informants who had [énumi] also had [éjána], again the Kinyarwanda tone-pattern. Another informant, on the Kinyarwanda border, gave [mutavu], using a different stem which is found in that language.

3.58.4. Item 61 is the term for 'cow dung'. In the North-East and East this is /⁶sa/, with the vowel found in Runyankore, Luganda and Rutooro, while in the remainder of the Rukiga area it is /⁶se/, with the vowel found in Kinyarwanda. The areas of /⁶sa/ and /⁶se/ in the survey area are very sharply divided along tribal lines: the former is used by the Banyankore, Bahororo and Banyabutumbi; the latter by the Bakiga and Batwa. For [s] and [ʃ] in this item see 3.5. 14-15.

3.60. 'Cricket', 'Hoe', 'Far Side', 'White Ant' and 'Wart'
(Items 60, 47, 53, 67, 68)

3.60.0. These items are grouped together because in each of them there appears a Class 9 noun sometimes with initial vowel and class prefix /en/ and sometimes with only initial vowel /e/. To show the different forms more clearly, this section does not use a number to refer to the class prefix of the various forms, but includes the initial vowel and class prefix, if any, in full in the phonemic transcription.

3.60.1. Item 60 is the term for 'cricket'. In the extreme North-East, East and extreme South-East the usual form is /**ɛ**ʒ**é**re/. Elsewhere a reduplicated form occurs, /**ɛ**ʒ**é**re**re**/. The distribution of the two forms is comparable to that in Item 74 (see 3.16.7.) where reduplication is also the distinctive feature. A clue as to the semantic significance of the reduplication in the case of 'cricket' is afforded by the Kinyarwanda term /inʒereri/ 'buzzing' (of insects).

3.60.2. In all areas except the North-East, Class 9 forms both with and without the class prefix /n/ are found. One case of Class 11 /ɔru/ and two of Class 7 /etʃi/ show prefixes which, when applied to stems which normally have other prefixes, add a meaning of unusual size. Since the three cases occur on the periphery, they may be older forms which elsewhere have been abandoned because of the incongruity of the associations of the prefix with the meaning 'cricket'. Class 9 forms both with and without the class prefix occur with [z] rather than [ʒ] (see 3.5. 14-15), with [dʒ] rather than [ʒ] (so /**ɛ**ng**é**re/ and /**ɛ**g**é**re/) and with a shifting of the high tone in the reduplicated form (so /**ɛ**nz**é**re/ and /**ɛ**z**é**re/), this last being common in the South-West.

3.60.3. A further example of the presence and absence of the class prefix /n/ is afforded by Item 47, the term for 'hoe'. The form /**ɛ**fúka/ is found throughout the area, but two informants gave /**ɛ**nfúka/. The forms [ɛsúka] and [ɛfúka], given on the Kinyarwanda border, are discussed in 3.5.²³~~25~~; they, too, do not have the class prefix.

3.60.4. Item 53 is the term for 'far side', used as a noun in expressions like /~ia/ 'the other side of' and adverbially in expressions like /~kuri:ia/ 'over there'. The latter was used as the standard framework for answers in the material. In the North-East only /séri/ is found. Across the centre of the area /**ɛ**séri/ is the only form in the West, but /**ɛ**séri/ and /séri/ exist side by side in the East. In the South of the area, the East again generally shows /**ɛ**séri/ and /séri/, but in the West these two are found together with /**ɛ**nséri/. Three other forms were given by one informant each, all on the Kinyarwanda border: [ɛnséno], [hakúrja] and [hákurja].

The last two reflect the Kinyarwanda form. Since /enséri/ is found in the South-West and is not attributable to Kinyarwanda influence, it is probably an older form, surviving on the periphery. /séri/ might be older than /eséri/ since, if we say that the North-East is the area of the former and the central belt is the area of the latter, then the former is sole form in its area and scattered in the latter's area like a relic form (but the latter is not scattered in the former's area). The form /séri/ shows no initial vowel and no class prefix and is thus totally devoid of the characteristics of a noun; /eséri/ shows initial vowel without class prefix and is in that respect like a few nouns in Class 9; /enséri/ shows both initial vowel and class prefix and so looks most completely like a noun.

3.60.5. Item 67 is the term for 'white ant'. In the East and the Minera Valley (informants 24 and 33) /entsébebe/ is used, while elsewhere /ɔmúfua/ is found. There are a few odd cases of /entsébebe/ outside its main area and one without the class prefix, so /etsebebe/. Two informants used both forms without differentiation of meaning and another said /ɔmúfua/ referred to a small ant and /entsébebe/ to a big one. One informant had /enkúbebe/, which is also found in Rutooro.

3.60.6. Item 68 is the term for 'wart'. In the North-East and extreme East the form /ɛʃû:ndo/ is found. Elsewhere there are very few occurrences of this form, the usual one being /ɛʃû:ndue/. Both of the main forms do not have the class prefix; one informant only gave /ɛnʃû:ndue/ with the prefix. There were, however, a number of other variants. Two informants had devoicing characteristics, one with [ɛʃû:ndwɛ], the other with added friction, so [ɛʃû:ndɲɛ]. Two had [ɛ] for [ʃ]: for this see 3.5.14-15. One had [ɛʃû:ndu], which looks like a half-way mark between the two main forms and this informant was near the border between them. There were two Kinyarwanda stems used on the Kinyarwanda border by one informant each: [ɛnkábɔ] (Kinyarwanda [ɪnkabɔ]) and [ɛmpɔgɛrɛ] (Kinyarwanda [ɪmpeɔgɛrɛ]).

3.60.7. One informant differentiated between a singular [ɛsú:ɣgo] and a plural [ɛsú:ɣwe]. The [g] is strange. Of interest, though, is the number distinction by the ending and by the presence or absence of the class prefix. Nouns with a singular showing the Class 9 initial vowel (with or without the class prefix /n/) have a plural in Class 10, but the Class 10 initial vowel and class prefix are identical with those of Class 9. (see 2.4.1.). The resultant ambiguity seems here to have been avoided. It may well be, though, that the need to avoid ambiguity was not the initial spur: the occurrence of two forms with the same meaning may cause an uncertainty about which to use that is resolved by using both, with a differentiation in meaning. There are other examples of this in the material; in particular another one where number is differentiated (see 3.58.2., with a reference to Gilliéron's French survey).

3.60.8. The Class 9 nouns in Items 47 and 68 appear in most cases without the class prefix, while that in Item 67 usually appears with it. Items 53 and 60 have a good number of cases with and without the class prefix, but their respective distributions do not correspond between the two items, except in as much as the forms with the class prefix do not appear in the North-East.

3.63. 'Nest' (Item 63)

3.63.1. In the North and centre of the area the usual form is /ɾáɣuri/. This form also occurs in the South-West, indicating that it once covered a larger area than it does today. In the South the usual form is /ɾári/, which occurs hardly at all elsewhere. There were three cases, all in the East, of /ɾáɣuri/ and one of [s] for [ɾ]. (For the latter see 3.5. 14-15.)

3.63.2. Two informants gave both the main forms, with a differentiation of meaning. Informant 59 had /ɾári/ 'nest for laying eggs' and /ɾáɣuri/ 'nest for living in', while informant 16 had /ɾári/ 'nest for domestic birds' and /ɾáɣuri/ 'nest for wild birds'.

3.64. 'Paddle' (Item 64)

3.64.1. In the centre of the area the most common form for 'paddle' is /^ɔgáhi/. The ending /-he/ rather than /-hi/ occurred in three cases, all of them in remote areas. There are a number of words in which Rukiga has final /-e/ where Runyankore has /-i/ (see 3.36.1.). If /^ɔgáhi/ were conceived as a borrowing from Runyankore, even though in fact no such form is attested in that language, then an awareness of the usual correspondences between Runyankore and Rukiga could produce /^ɔgáhe/ by analogic change.

3.64.2. In the North-East /^ɔgásia/ is found; this is the form of ending used in Runyankore and Kinyarwanda. Also found in the North-East is /^ɔgási/, which is considered in 3.5.7. along with /^ɔgáji/, found in the South-West. One informant in the North gave /^ɔgáha/, looking like a confusion of /^ɔgáhi/ and /^ɔgásia/. In the South-West, two informants gave /^ɔgási:re/ and one /^ɔgásira/; the extra syllable suggests a prepositional verbal extension (see 2.5.2., note 15) and increases the possibility that the derivation of the forms is through a verbal stem.

3.64.3. One informant in the North-East had /^ɔkási/. This is interesting because Guthrie (1970) gives two Common Bantu forms, *[-gápi] and *[-kápi], the former showing the application of Dahl's law (see 3.20.6.) and the latter likely to be the earlier form. Since the informant with /^ɔkási/ is not in a remote area, it is hardly likely that he has preserved the earliest Bantu form; it is more probable that he has borrowed his form from Luganda, which has the [k].

3.64.4. Three informants use a completely different stem: /-i:ko/. All of them have a Class 3 prefix; for the one who has [ɔgu] in this role, see 3.20.8. Elsewhere in the Rukiga area this stem is used for a wooden stirrer found in the kitchen and Guthrie has an item *[-yiko] 'ladle', of which it is a reflex. The three informants who have /-i:ko/ in the meaning of 'paddle' are all together in the North-West, not near any lake, which accounts for their not having a separate stem in this meaning.

3.64.5. Distance from a lake is clearly a contributory factor in the relatively high number of informants who used no form at all in this item. Those who did give a form in an area far from a lake composed a picture of heterogeneity for such areas. Around the lakes, on the other hand, there was considerable homogeneity: /ɛngáhi/ for Lake Bunyonyi and /ɛngáfi/ for Lakes Mulehe and Mutanda.

3.65. 'Owl' (Item 65)

3.65.1. In the North-East and East the usual form is /ʔhíhi:zi/, which occurs only rarely elsewhere, the form otherwise used being /ʔhu:ɣí:ra/. Five speakers gave /ʔhú:ɣira/, four of them in remote areas, suggesting that this tone-pattern is an older one. One informant had /ʔhíhirizi/, the phonetic nature of which is so seemingly onomatopoeic as to warrant the belief that the other forms are also onomatopoeic in origin. (The forms with [i] or [i:] reminiscent of screeching; those with [u:], of the long call cf. French [i:bu:], German [u:hu:].) Onomatopoeia is still productive in Rukiga, cf. [pitʃipitʃi] 'motor-cycle', and is common in Bantu languages generally.

3.65.2. Several informants on the border between the two main forms gave both; one differentiated between them by saying that they referred to two different species.

3.65.3. The prefix [ɛdʒi], given by three informants on the Kinyarwanda border, is considered in 3.20.6.

3.70. Numerals (Items 70, 71, 72)

3.70.0. The numerals 'one' to 'five' take concord prefixes (see 2.4.1.). When they appear in compound numerals 'eleven' to 'fifteen', 'twenty-one' to 'twenty-five' and so on, they similarly take concord prefixes. The other numerals do not show concord agreements. The terms for 'twenty' to 'ninety' are made up of a form /makumi/ 'tens' and the numerals 'two' to 'nine'. Apart from not having any initial vowel, this /makumi/ is like a Class 6 noun, a plural of /ikumi/ 'ten' which has a Class 5 prefix without the initial vowel /e/. Since

the numerals 'two' to 'five' show concord agreements, they take Class 6 prefixes in the compound numerals 'twenty' to 'fifty'. As the Class 6 prefix is a distinguishing feature, it becomes possible in informal conversation to drop /makumi/, so that, for example, the form for 'fifty' is then simply the stem for 'five', /-táno/, with a Class 6 prefix, making /atáno/. Since the numerals 'six' to 'nine' do not show concord agreements, on the other hand, such a short form is not possible because 'six' and 'sixty' would then be homophonous. In contrast to Rukiga, the Luganda numeral system has distinctive short forms for 'sixty' to 'ninety'. The same contrast between Luganda and Rukiga is found also in the forms for 'six hundred' to 'nine hundred'. Perhaps because of their advantage of shortness the Luganda terms for 'sixty' to 'ninety' and 'six hundred' to 'nine hundred' appear sometimes in Rukiga.

3.70.1. Item 70 is the term for 'sixty'. The Luganda form /nkâga/ is found in all parts of the Rukiga area, but it has by no means completely replaced the Rukiga form /makumi mukâga/. One informant gave [amakúmi mukâga] with the initial vowel on the 'tens', while another gave [ikumi mukâga] with a singular 'ten'.

3.70.2. Item 71 is the term for 'one hundred'. The form taken from Luganda, /tʃikúmi/, is built on the stem for 'ten' already quoted, but it does not have any advantage of shortness over the Rukiga form, which is /igána/. This could account for the fact that, apart from a patch in the extreme South-West, the Luganda form occurs only in isolated instances in the Rukiga area.

3.70.3. The form /tʃigána/ is also found in isolated instances, combining the Rukiga stem with the Luganda prefix. Where the Luganda forms for 'sixty' to 'ninety' have been adopted, the prefix /tʃi/ is established in the numeral system by its presence in 'eighty' and 'ninety', /tʃinâna/ and /tʃiânda/ respectively. The way is therefore prepared for its appearance in the term for 'one hundred.'

3.70.4. Item 72 is the term for 'six hundred'. Here the Luganda form /rukága/ is more widespread vis-à-vis the Rukiga form /amagána mukága/ than is the case with 'sixty'. The Rukiga form remains mostly in remote areas and on the periphery. The Luganda form for 'six hundred' has gained wider acceptance than that for 'sixty', perhaps because the former numeral is not used much in everyday speech, but more in the language of administrators. The administrators in Kigezi were for some years Baganda (see 3.49.3. for references). The belief that counting is unlucky may also have acted against the use of Rukiga forms in the past, allowing the Luganda forms to gain acceptance when new patterns of life demanded the existence of an appropriate terminology.

3.70.5. The form /amagána mukága/ shows a plural of /igána/ (Classes 6 and 5: see 2.4.1.) The form /ebigána mukága/, found in two peripheral cases, shows a plural of the hybrid /tfigána/ (Classes 8 and 7). In both cases the initial vowel absent in the singular forms, appears in the plural forms.

3.70.6. One informant stated that he would use the Rukiga forms for 'sixty' and 'six hundred' when talking to an old person and the Luganda ones otherwise: the recent advent of the latter is well confirmed by this testimony.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 3

1. For those informants who would not produce this meaning, I elicited the phonetic information I wanted by using in one case a different verb ([bɪˈka] 'keep') and in three cases an 'if' clause ([ku bara-] 'if they arrive'). These devices ensured that I received the subjunctive ending of a verb with a stem in [-ka].
2. The main problem in the field was that the reply given was [aze kuhiːga] 'let him go to cultivate' with the subjunctive ending given to the verb [za] 'go' in which the phoneme /z/ does not exhibit any phonetic peculiarities, whereas the point of the item was the behaviour of /g/ before /e/. Careful coaxing produced the required form eventually with all informants.
3. Meeussen (1962) discusses the Ganda law in detail. He quotes [nungi] in Luziba and considers it a relic phenomenon.

4. RELATIONSHIP TO RUNYANKORE AND KINYARWANDA

4.1.1. Rukiga, numbered E.14 in Guthrie's (1970) classification of the Bantu languages, occupies an area at the westernmost extremity of Zone E. Its area is contiguous with only one other language in Zone E, namely E.13, Runyankore, to its east. The lands to the immediate north of the Rukiga area have been uninhabited until recently (but it is possible that there has been a little contact with speakers of E.12, Rutooro, whose area lies beyond those lands). To the south and west of the Rukiga area lies a different zone of Bantu languages, labelled D by Guthrie. The one contiguous with Rukiga is D.61, Kinyarwanda. In addition there is one valley of speakers of Ruhunde lying adjacent to the westernmost valley of Rukiga-speakers. Ruhunde is in a different group of Zone D from Kinyarwanda and is numbered D.51 by Guthrie. In fact, no cases of Ruhunde influence have been detected in the survey; the few cases of Rutooro influence are referred to in Chapter 3 where they occur. In that chapter there are also many references to Runyankore and Kinyarwanda; the purpose of the present chapter is to examine the relationship of Rukiga to those two languages.

4.1.2. Guthrie's typological classification of languages into zones and groups is somewhat at variance with his subsequent historical classification. His suggested Bantu genealogy ascribes to Kirundi (D.62, a very similar language to Kinyarwanda) and Runyankore a common ancestor, labelled 'IIIIa'. This would not be surprising if at a subsequent stage all the D languages (or for our present purposes all the D.60 languages) went one way and all the E (or E.10) languages went another. In fact, however, Guthrie suggests that D.62 and E.13, Runyankore, had a later common parent not shared by E.15, Luganda. This implies that E.13 has more in common with D.62 than it has with at least one of the other languages in its own group. Henrici's (1973) re-classification by the group average method, based on 455 roots, has a single one-into-three split of D.62, E.13 and E.15, showing that D.62 has as much in common with E.13 as has E.15. In his earlier work (1972), however, Henrici's group average classification based on 624 roots shows the same pattern as Guthrie's genealogy, that is, there is a split between D.62 and E.13 on the one hand and E. 15

on the other prior to the split between D.62 and E.13. Because of the links between D.60 and E.10 languages, it has been suggested that Guthrie's zones D and E be divided into three parts, one of which contains both the D.60 and E.10 groups. This new zone is called D/E (Doneux (1965)) or J (Kadima (1969)). In the present chapter we shall examine the links between E.14, Rukiga, and the member of the E. 10 group geographically nearest to it, namely E.13, Runyankore, and those between Rukiga and the member of the D.60 group geographically nearest, namely D.61, Kinyarwanda. It must, of course, constantly be borne in mind that relationships between languages reflect not only independent development from a common ancestor, but also borrowings between languages that have been in contact at some period of their history. Contacts between languages depend upon the movements of their speakers, a topic that will be discussed in Chapter 6.

4.1.3. In the present chapter we shall attempt only static comparisons. In 4.3. we shall consider how far the different Rukiga areas (see 3.0.3.) incline more to Runyankore or to Kinyarwanda. First, though, in 4.2. we shall limit ourselves to one form of Rukiga, that spoken to the west, north-west and south-west of Kabale, which was described in Chapter 2. It follows, of course, that some of the features ascribed in 4.2. to Rukiga have been shown by the survey not to apply in some other parts of the Rukiga area. To make comparisons with Rukiga we shall take the kind of Runyankore spoken around Mbarara, the administrative centre of Ankole District, and the kind of Kinyarwanda spoken around Nyanza, a centre of the ruling hierarchy (see 1.3.1.) in south-central Rwanda.

4.2.1. The monophthong vowel systems of the three speech-communities are alike in that all three have five long and five short vowels. A direct comparison is difficult because of the changes in quality which are coupled with changes of length in Rukiga (see above, 2.1.2.). Runyankore has three diphthongs: /ai, ei, oi/; Kinyarwanda has none; Rukiga has one: /ei/.

4.2.2. The consonant systems of the three communities may be compared as follows:

Runyankore	b	t	k	g	m	n	ɲ	r	f	v	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	h	ts	tʃ						
Kinyarwanda	b	ɓ	t	k	g	m	ɱ	n	ɲ	r	f	v	s	sk	z	ʃ	ʒ	ʝ	h	pf	ts	tʃ	tʃ
Rukiga	b		t	k	g	m		n	ɲ	r	f	v	s		z	ʃ	ʒ		h				tʃ

All three also have [d] and [p] within the limitations described above for Rukiga in 2.2.2. It will be seen from the table that the palatalised varieties in Kinyarwanda are not present in Rukiga, which accords with Runyankore apart from not having /ts/. The accord is also lost in another point. In Runyankore [tʃ, k] are allophones of /k/, while [tʃ] constitutes a separate phoneme /tʃ/; in Rukiga there is only one variety of [tʃ] and [tʃ, k] are separate phonemes /tʃ, k/; in Kinyarwanda [tʃ, tʃ, k] are all separate phonemes /tʃ, tʃ, k/. (In Runyankore [ɖ, g] are allophones of /g/; in Rukiga [ɖ, g] are allophones of /g/; in Kinyarwanda there is no [ɖ], simply [g]=/g/.)

4.2.3. All three speech-communities have nasal compounds. They all have the limitations of occurrence and morphophonemic rules described for Rukiga in 2.2.3. While these rules give a complete statement for Rukiga and Runyankore, Kinyarwanda has two additional rules: /nf/= [ɱf] and /nv/= [ɱv]. The sequences [nf] and [nv] do not occur in Kinyarwanda, but they do in Rukiga and Runyankore. In the matter of nasal compounds, then, as in simple consonants, Rukiga accords with Runyankore rather than with Kinyarwanda.

4.2.4. When we consider other permitted consonant combinations, however, the opposite is found. Both Kinyarwanda and Rukiga have consonant combinations in which the second element is an allophone of a vowel (see 3.7.); Runyankore has none of these. They are (in phonetic transcription):

(Runyankore	bw	rw	dw	fw	ʃw	tw	sʃ)
Kinyarwanda	bg	rg	dg	fk	skw	tkw	skʃ)
Rukiga	bg	rg	dg	(fw	ʃw	tw	sʃ)

Rukiga also has [sk] where Runyankore has [tsik]. (Affricates with monophonemic status are given above in 4.2.2.)

4.2.5. The prefixes of Kinyarwanda are subject to Dahl's law: a voiceless consonant becomes voiced before a stem which begins with a voiceless consonant. This does not apply in Runyankore and Rukiga. Apart from this the concord systems of the three speech communities are the same with a few exceptions. The initial vowels [i,u] are used in Kinyarwanda, where [ɛ ,ɔ] occur in Runyankore and Rukiga. The differences in the prefixes in all cases but one show Kinyarwanda having one form while Runyankore and Rukiga share another. These differences may be listed as follows:

	Runy.	Kiny.	Ruk.
Class 3 verbal prefix	gu	u	gu
Class 3 object pronoun	gu	wu	gu
Class 4 object pronoun	dzi	ji	dzi
Class 5 noun prefix } }	i ri	- ri	i ri
Class 6 verbal prefix	ga	a	ga
Class 6 object pronoun	ga	ja	ga
Class 9 object pronoun	dzi	ji	dzi
Class 10 verbal prefix	i,zi	zi	zi

4.2.6. All three speech-communities have nouns grouped into the following 'genders' (singular/plural pairs; the numbers referring to the class prefix): 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11/10, 14/6, 15/6. All three also have a single noun in Class 16, meaning 'place', without any distinction between singular and plural. Runyankore has an additional one-class gender with Class 13, but in Kinyarwanda and Rukiga Class 13 makes the plural for Class 12. This gender 12/13 is used for diminutives; in Runyankore diminutives with a singular in Class 12 make their plural in Class 14. All three speech-communities have a gender 9/6, with small, but different, totals of roots: in Runyankore there seem to be only two; in Rukiga there are a few only; in Kinyarwanda there are around twenty. All the genders other than 9/6 and 16 are found with many stems in all three speech-communities, but in all of them 15/6 contains only a few real substantives while Class 15 is used for the 'infinitives' of verbs.

4.2.7. In its verbal system Kinyarwanda differs fundamentally from

the other two communities, in that many of its tenses have two forms, one, called conjunct, that is used with a noun object and another, called disjunct, that is used in other cases. All three communities have a future tense, although the agreement in its use is confined to futures beyond tomorrow, and a 'not yet' tense. Runyankore and Rukiga also have a 'never' tense. The present and past tenses are shown in Table 4.1. There is a difference between Rukiga and Runyankore not shown in the table. Whereas the Runyankore 'yesterday' past tense has the same form as the imperfective, the Rukiga 'yesterday' past has the same form as the perfective (see 3.16.2.). Kinyarwanda has simple forms for imperfect tenses in addition to the tenses shown in the table; these functions have to be covered by compound forms in Runyankore and Rukiga. Table 4.1. shows that while there are some differences between the forms used in Runyankore and Rukiga, the same tense oppositions apply to both (with the one exception just mentioned). Kinyarwanda, however, has different oppositions.

4.2.8. In the areas of phonetics, phonology and morphology, then, Rukiga agrees with Runyankore rather than with Kinyarwanda in most points. The most notable exception is in the permitted consonant combinations where Rukiga shares a certain amount with Kinyarwanda. In the field of vocabulary, the items in the survey may serve to show the relationships that exist.

	P r e s e n t			P a s t		
	Habitual	Actual	'Still'	Immediate	Today	Yesterday Far
Runy.	Ø	ni-	-tʃi-	-á:-	(m.r.)	-ka-
Kiny. (conj.)	Ø	-ra-	-rátʃá:-	(m.r.)	(m .r.)	-á- (m.r.)
(disj.)		-ra-	-rátʃá:-	(m .r.)	(m .r.)	-árá-(m.r.)
Ruk.	-ga	-ra-	-tʃá-	-a-	(m .r.)	-ka-

Table 4.1.

m.r. modified root (see 2.5.1.)

4.3.1. We turn now to the items in the survey. Table 4.2. sets out the main (but by no means all the) forms recorded in each item, arranged in four columns: forms found, or related to those found, in Runyankore; forms found, or related to those found, in both Runyankore and Kinyarwanda; forms found, or related to those found, in Kinyarwanda; forms belonging to none of these groups. In allocating a form to one of these columns, it is the point at issue which has been decisive. In Item 4, for example, in which the term for 'dog' was elicited, all the responses had on a lexical level recognisably the 'same' root, the one which is in fact found in both Runyankore and Kinyarwanda. However, the point at issue in Item 4 is the precise phonetic nature of the sound-cluster occurring in the root. On this basis entries are made in three of the columns in the table: [-bwa] is the sound-group found in Runyankore; [-bga] is found in Kinyarwanda (and [-ga] is related to it); [-ba] is not found in either of these two languages. In some of the lexical items, it happens that two of the forms recorded are found in Runyankore, one of them with the meaning that was intended in the item and one in a different meaning. In these cases the latter is put in the column for forms not found in Runyankore or Kinyarwanda, but is marked with an asterisk. The transcription in Table 4.2. is phonemic except where otherwise indicated.

4.3.2. The forms shown in Table 4.2. appear along with all the others in each item in the maps in Appendix B. In many of the maps the Runyankore forms appear in the North-East (Area 1, often extending into Area 2, sometimes beyond) and East (Area 5, often extending into Area 11) and this is obviously to be expected since these areas are adjacent to the Runyankore area. There is, however, in many maps a further feature which is more unexpected. The form found in Areas 1 and 5 but not to the immediate South-West of these areas re-occurs in the extreme South-West (Areas 9, 10 and 13). Since the extreme South-West is the part of the Rukiga area farthest from Runyankore, the occurrence of a Runyankore form there is surprising. As the extreme South-West adjoins the Kinyarwanda area, one would expect to find Kinyarwanda forms there; in fact, the Kinyarwanda forms of Table 4.2. turn up in the centre of the Rukiga area (Area 7). This general pattern is to be seen in a good number of maps, which will now be referred to in more detail.

Table 4.2.

Item	As Runyankore	As Runyankore and Kinyarwanda	As Kinyarwanda	Others
1.		[ts]		[s]
2.	[tʃe]		[ke]	
3.	[ndʒe]		[ʎge]	
4.	[bwa]		[bga], [ga]	[ʋa]
5.	[ʃ]		[s]	
6.	[a]		[i]	
7.	[ɸ] (semi-vowel)			[ɸ] (fricative)
8.	[ɰi]			[wei]
9.	[ai]			[ei]
10.	[fa], [fwa]		[fka]	
11.	[dʒi]		[ɰi]	[dʒi]
12.		[ʃ]		[s]
13.	[ʃ]			[s]
14.	∅			-ga
15.	ni-		-ra-	
16.	(modified root)			-a- (m.r.)
17.	ni- -tʃi-			-tʃá-
18.	-ka-			-a- (+m.r.)
19.	ti- -riku-			ti- -ra-
20.		n-		zi-
21.	i-	zi-		
22.		⁶ zu, ¹⁰ zu		
23.	-ta-			-ta-
24.	⁸ takuri		⁸ zu:mba	⁸ ri:bua *
25.	⁷ segési		⁷ ʎgóte	
26.	kuŋká			kuenká, tʃiŋká
27.	¹⁴ tú:zi		¹⁴ mégere	¹⁴ négere
28.	³ gango		³ sozi, ³ fozi	³ rambi *
29.	tú:nda			guza
30.	téga			foha
31.	téga		mua	

32.	⁷ i:ne, ⁷ túgu		³ i ³ ima	⁷ tígu
33.	¹ gurúsi			¹ keíra
34.	ɲamuabázio			ɲamuebázo
35.	iebare			uebare
36.	hi		he	
37.	[tʃirá~], [tʃiriɲká~]		[tʃiri~]	
38.	ahántʃi			ahabu ^é ntʃi
39.	ɲentʃákare			ɲensákare
40.		tio		sio
41.		tikuó		tikué
42.	ɔ́guo			ɔ́gue
43.	¹ i:ftʃi			¹ hára *
44.	⁸ hi:mba		⁸ hi:mba	
45.	¹² zágiro			¹² táre
46.	⁷ tʃú:ntʃu		⁹ táre	
47.	⁹ fúka, ⁹ -fúka			
48.				[nigáhe], [higáha] *
49.	ehingui:re, ehueíre			hú:ngira *
50.	gueʒégera			
51.	óreka		éreka	
52.	héza		mara	
53.	enséri			séri, eséri
54.	éira		akáre	
55.	⁹ -ʃandú:tʃe			⁹ -ʃandú:ko
56.	¹ hi:sa		¹ éngi	¹ hi:si
57.	⁸ éierezo		⁸ éio, ⁸ kandózo	
58.	⁹ -ními			⁹ -númi
59.		⁹ -nána		⁹ -ɲéna
60.		⁹ -zére		⁹ -zérere
61.	⁶ ʃa		⁶ ʃe	
62.		¹⁵ ézi		³ ézi
63.	⁷ áʃuri		⁷ ári	
64.		⁹ gásia		⁹ gási, ⁹ gáhi
65.	⁷ hihi:zi		⁷ hu:ɲi:ra	
66.	¹ noɡózi		¹ bú:mbi	

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 67. | ⁹ tʃébebe | ³ ʃua | |
| 68. | ⁹ -ʃu:ndo | | ⁹ -ʃu:ndue |
| 69. | héreza ha | | |
| 70. | nkâga, makumi mukâga | | |
| 71. | tʃikúmi, igána | | tʃigána |
| 72. | rukâga, amagána mukâga | | |
| 73. | -genzíre | | -gendíre |
| 74. | -rerereíre | -rerereíre | |
| 75. | [nú:ndzi] | | [ndú:ndzi] |

4.3.3. In Map 5 [ʃ], the Runyankore form, occurs without exception in Area 1, but is almost completely absent from the rest of the map except for a patch of six cases in Areas 9 and 10. In between lies a large area of [s], the Kinyarwanda form.

In Map 7 [bɿ] with [ɿ] a semi-vowel as in Runyankore occurs almost without exception in Areas 1, 2 and 5, but only occasionally elsewhere apart from a patch in Areas 9 and 10 extending into Area 8. This patch is continuous with the semi-vowel area of the North only when the [rɿ] semi-vowel of informant 99 is admitted in the area. If the [rɿ] is taken out as a separate feature, then [bɿ] with [ɿ] a semi-vowel has two separate areas, one in the North and the other in Areas 9 and 10. (It should be noted in connection with this item and others that there is no possibility of any direct contact between informants 98, 106 and 107 on the one hand and Area 9 on the other; between them lies the Impenetrable Forest. The occurrence of [bɿ] with [ɿ] a semi-vowel in informants 98, 106 and 107 and in Area 9 does not, therefore, affect the point just made.)

In Map 14 ø is found almost without exception in Areas 1, 5 and 11 and to a large extent in Area 12. Separated from this continuous domain by a belt of /-ga/ covering Areas 3, 4, 6 and 7 is a further domain of ø in informants 111, 116, 117, 122, 125, 132, 135 and 138. ø is the Runyankore form.

In Map 15 /ni-/, the Runyankore form, covers an area similar to (but slightly larger than) that of ø in Map 14. A belt of /-ra-/, the Kinyarwanda form, corresponds roughly to the belt of /-ga/ in Map 14. /ni-/ re-appears in the South-West, albeit in two separate patches: one composed of informants 87, 100, 101, 102, 108 and 115; the other of informants 134, 135, 137 and 138. In addition, there are two isolated occurrences in the South-West: informants 116 and 132. There are two other isolated occurrences of /ni-/ in the belt of /-ra-/, but there is no point at which the patches of /ni-/ in the South-West touch the area of /ni-/ in the North-East and South-East. /ni-/, found, as we have seen, in the South-West along the Kinyarwanda border, contrasts strongly with Kinyarwanda in that the tense-marker is a prefix: there are no (non-dependent) tenses formed with a prefix in Kinyarwanda. The form /-ra-/ exists on both sides of the patches of /ni-/ in the South-West (i.e. in Kinyarwanda and in the 'belt' in

Rukiga referred to above), but in spite of this and its anomalous position in the tense-system (see 3.14. 7.), /ni-/ survives in that area.

In Map 17 /ni- -tʃi-/, the Runyankore form, is found in Areas 1, 2, 5 and 11 and in a few isolated instances elsewhere, most notable amongst these being those which occur strung out along the Kinyarwanda border: informants 117, 121, 128, 129, 132, 134 and 138. It is the form found consistently in the remainder of the Rukiga area, /-tʃa-/, which is related to the one used in Kinyarwanda.

In Map 24 the more common form /⁸ri:bua/ is found in all parts of the Rukiga area. The other main form /⁸takuri/, used in Runyankore, is scattered throughout the map, but is found concentrated in the North-East (a majority of the informants in Area 1) and in the South-West (informants 100, 101, 108, 115, 124, 134 and 135). These two concentrations are separated by an area of /⁸ri:bua/ in which /⁸takuri/ occurs only occasionally.

In Map 26 /kuŋká/, the Runyankore form, is found throughout, but it is mixed with /tʃiŋká/ and /kuénká/ in all parts except the North-East (almost the whole of Area 1) and a patch in the South-West (informants 116, 117, 118, 119, 125, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137 and 138).

In Map 27 /¹⁴tú:zi/, the Runyankore form, is found throughout the North and strung out along the Kinyarwanda border (informants 111, 120, 124, 125, 128, 130 and 136). These two areas of /¹⁴tú:zi/ are separated from each other by an area of /¹⁴négere/.

Map 29 might seem to be a further example of the phenomenon we are examining, but it must be borne in mind that /gúza/ may represent a borrowing from Luganda and that /tú:nda/ could therefore be regarded as an older form surviving in the West of the area (and its occurrence in the North-East is on the Western side of Area 1), while the East has already been converted to the Luganda form. It is nonetheless interesting that the two areas where the possibly older form has survived most strongly are the North-East and the South-West.

In Map 31 /téga/, the Runyankore form, occurs with few exceptions in Area 1 but hardly at all elsewhere apart from along the Kinyarwanda border in informants 120, 128, 129, 130, 134 and 138. The wide area between these speakers and the North-East is almost completely uniform on /mua/, the Kinyarwanda form.

In Map 37 [tʃirá~], found in Runyankore, occurs scattered throughout the Eastern half of the Rukiga area. To the West of this half is a belt of [tʃirí~] and [tʃirinká~], but in the extreme West [tʃirá~] re-appears in informants 108, 115, 124, 132, 133 and 134 and in the extreme South informant 121 also has it. One of the forms in the intermediate belt, [tʃirí~], is paralleled in Kinyarwanda. While it could be argued that [tʃirá~] is a case of analogic change (see 3.36.2.) and such change could conceivably take place independently in two separate areas, it seems more likely that this item exhibits the same phenomenon as the others we are considering.

In Map 40 /-tio/ appears without exception in Area 1 and is also found dominant further South on the Eastern side of the Rukiga area. Elsewhere this form is scattered amongst the more frequent /-sio/. These scattered occurrences include a number on the Kinyarwanda border: informants 125, 128, 130, 131, 137 and 138.

In Map 41 /tikúé/ is found with few exceptions throughout an expanse covering the whole of the North and South-East of the Rukiga area. To the immediate South-West of this large domain is a belt of /tikúó/. Further South-West and along the Kinyarwanda border /tikúé/ re-appears in informants 119, 120, 121, 125, 128, 130, 132, 133, 134, 136 and 137.

In Map 43 /¹i:ʃtʃi/, the Runyankore type, is found without exception in Area 1 and to a large extent in Area 2. The rest of the Rukiga area has /¹hára/ apart from a few isolated instances and a belt of /¹i:ʃtʃi/ along the Kinyarwanda border. (Informants 95, 97, 105, 120, 121, 124, 125, 128, 132, 133, 134, 137 and 138). This belt extends further at its southern end than the other examples, but the basic picture of a form common to the North-East and South-West with a different form between is the same.

In Map 44 a large area in the North and South-East has /⁸hi:mba/, the Runyankore form, while the central South has /⁸hi:mbo/ with the Kinyarwanda ending. The former re-appears, however, in the South-West in three distinct but hardly disconnected patches: the first includes informants 125, 131, 132, 134, 135 and 136; the second, informants 89, 101, 108, 109, 115 and 117; the third, informants 119, 120, 121, 128 and 129. These three patches of /⁸hi:mba/ are separated from the Northern area of the same form by the belt of /⁸hi:mbo/. This

separating belt is very narrow at one point (informants 64 and 77), but it is never broken to afford any contact between the patches of /⁸hi:mba/ and the main area of that form.

In Map 50 /gueʒégera/, the Runyankore form, is found in Areas 1, 5 and 11 and in only a few instances elsewhere, amongst which are informants 108, 115, 120, 122, 128, 132, 133 and 135 along the Kinyarwanda border. These are separated from the occurrences of the form in the North-East and East by a wide area of /hú:ngira/.

In Map 52 /héza/, the Runyankore form, is scattered throughout the area and in only one place could one possibly speak of a concentration of this form: a patch composed of informants 123, 124, 132, 133, 134, 135 and 138. This patch is separated from the other scattered occurrences of the form by a belt of /mara/ in Area 8. It is this latter form which is found in Kinyarwanda, while /héza/ is found concentrated on the Kinyarwanda border of the Rukiga area.

In Map 56 /¹hi:sa/, the Runyankore form, appears over a large area on the North-Eastern side (Areas 1, 2, 3, 5 and 11). It re-occurs in a fairly solid area in the South-West (Areas 9, 10 and much of 8) and again in the extreme South (informants 96, 105, 114, 121 and 130). These smaller areas of occurrence are separated from the larger one in the North-East by occurrences of /¹hi:si/ and /¹éngi/.

In Map 57 the South-West contains a mixture of forms in contrast to the uniformity of the South-East with /⁸éio/ and the North-East with /⁸éierezo/. Nevertheless, this North-Eastern form, the Runyankore one, is also found in the South-West. Informants 116, 117 and 118 stand together; so do informants 131, 132 and 133; informants 101, 108 and 121 appear isolated. These occurrences of /⁸éierezo/ at no point touch the main area of the form.

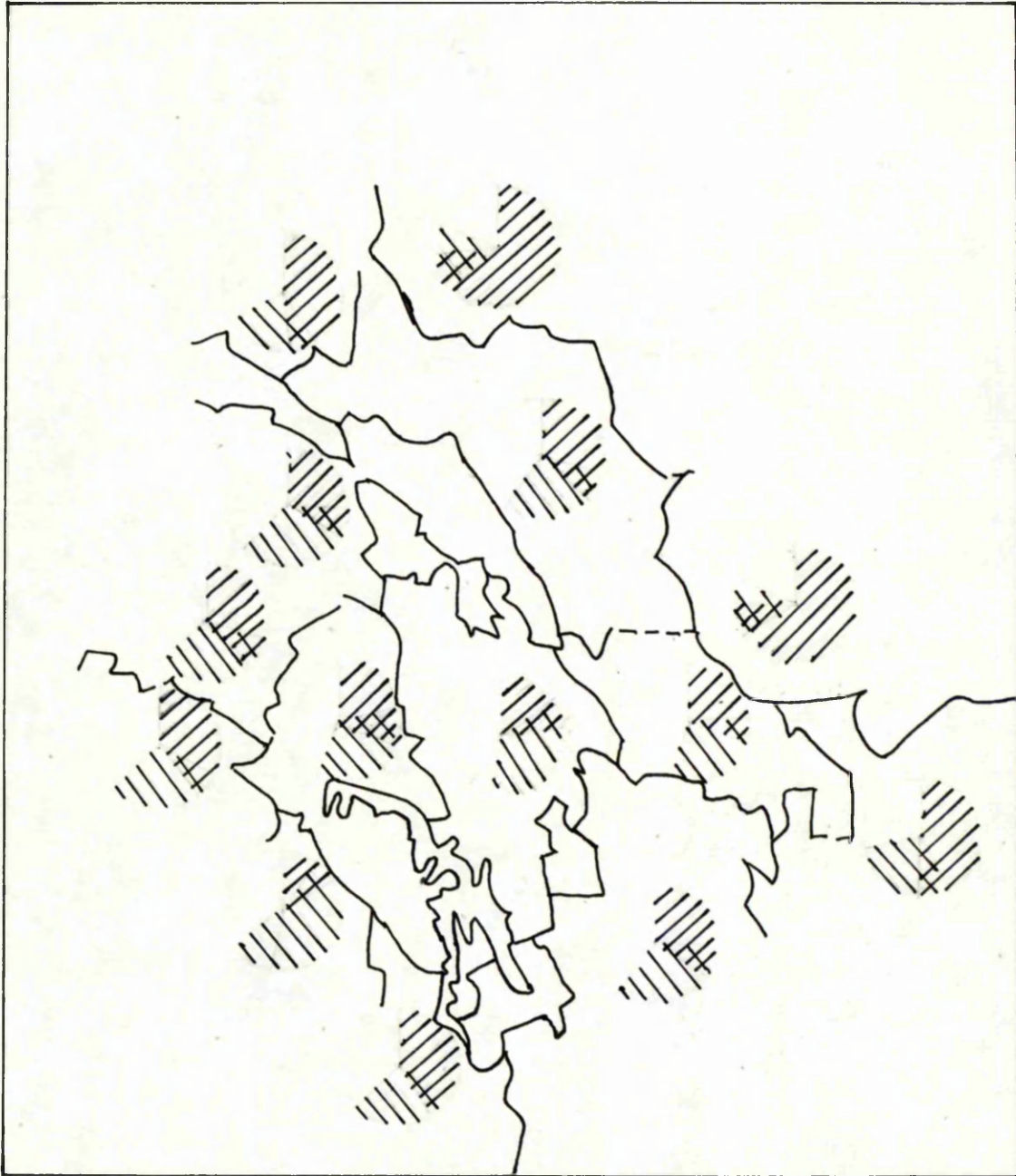
In Map 63 /⁷áfuri/, the Runyankore form, occurs throughout the North and in only two other cases apart from along the Kinyarwanda border, where it is found in informants 122, 124, 128, 131, 134, 136 and 138. The two areas are separated by an area of /⁷ári/, which occurs in Kinyarwanda.

In Map 64 there appears in Areas 1, 2 and 5 a form /⁹gási/, while in the South-West there appears a patch of /⁹gáʃi/ (informants 122, 124, 125, 132, 136, 137 and 138) and an isolated instance of the same form (informant 130). The relationship between [s] and [ʃ] is discussed in 3.5.; the connection between /⁹gási/ and /⁹gáʃi/ is




evidenced by the occurrence of the latter in the area of the former (informant 6) and of the former in the area of the latter (informant 136). It is therefore clear that we are dealing here with one basic form and, that granted, we have a further example of a form occurring in the North-East and again in the South-West. The gulf between them, filled almost entirely with /*gáhi*/, is as wide as any in the other items.

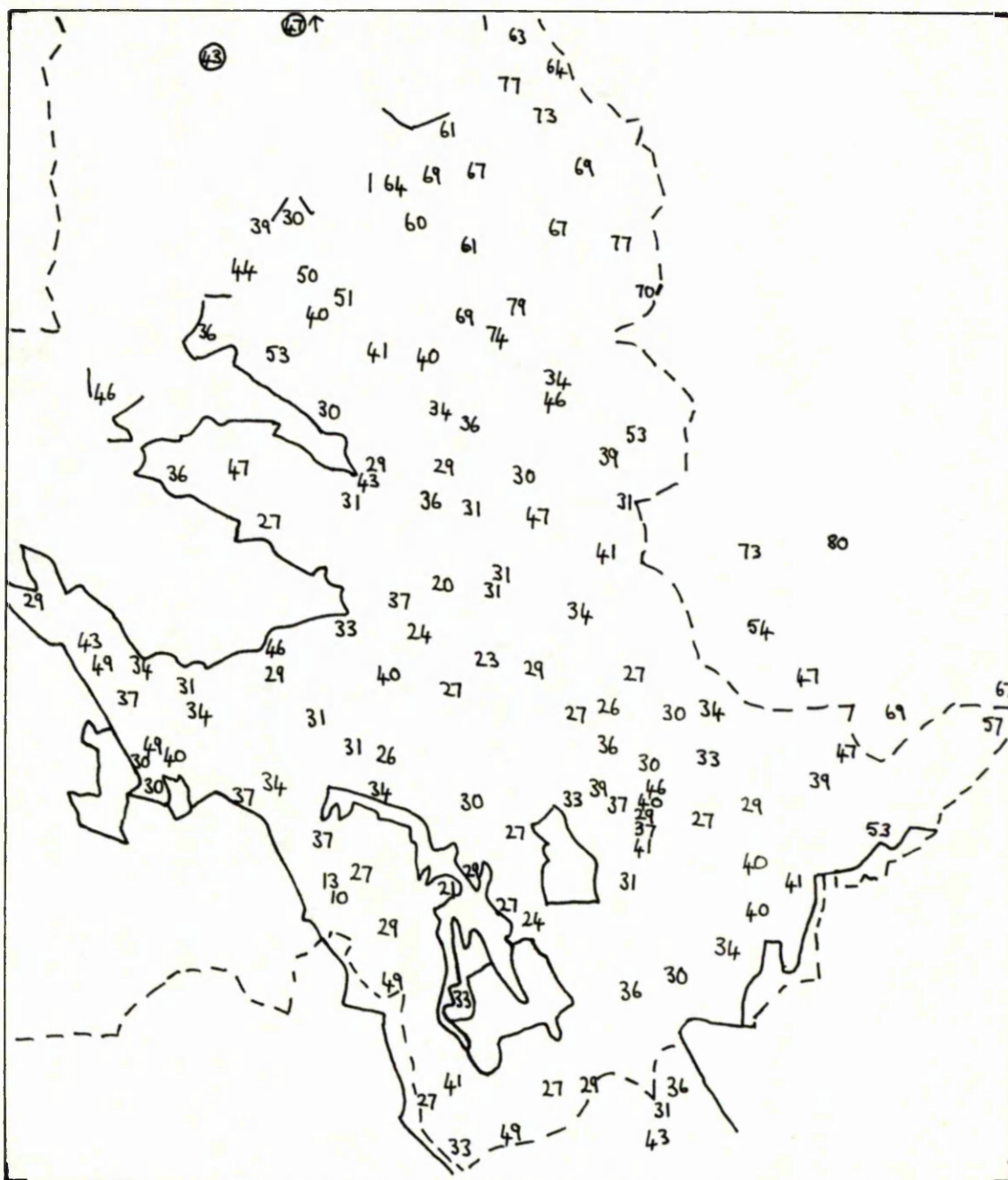
In Map 74 the modified root without reduplication as in Runyankore is found in the North-East without exception and elsewhere scattered amongst the occurrences of the modified root with reduplication. This scattering becomes a bunch in only two places: one is in the South-East (informants 46, 58 and 70) and this could be regarded almost as an extension of the main area of the reduplicated form from Area 5; the other bunch is in the South-West (informants 116, 131, 133, 134 and 135). This bunch could not be regarded as an extension of the main area of the unreduplicated form: there is a solid area of the reduplicated form between them. In similar roots in Kinyarwanda reduplication is found, so that again the South-West is seen to be in agreement with the North-East, but in disagreement with neighbouring Kinyarwanda.

4.3.4. This disagreement between the South-West of the Rukiga area and its neighbour Kinyarwanda would be less startling if other parts of the Rukiga area showed greater disagreement, the degree increasing proportionate to geographical distance. In fact, as we have seen, the centre of the Rukiga area, its kernel being Area 7 of the survey, has Kinyarwanda forms. The Runyankore forms of the South-West are found again in the North-East of the Rukiga area, adjacent to the Runyankore area. Map 4.1. illustrates the situation. In the map each of the fourteen areas into which the survey area is broken up (see 3.0.3.) has a circle divided into segments to show the proportions of the 75 items which were in each of the four groups given in Table 4.2. In deciding that a given area had a certain form in a given item, the form used by the majority of informants in that area was taken.¹ Map 4.2. shows for each individual informant the percentage of the material supplied by him which is Runyankore forms. These figures will be referred to again in 5.9 below.



Map 4.1.

-  Runyankore forms
-  Runyankore and Kinyarwanda forms
-  Kinyarwanda forms



Map 4.2.

4.3.5. The maps referred to in 4.3.3. relate to phonetic, morphological and lexical items. So do the figures underlying the circles in Map 4.1. and the figures in Map 4.2. Confining ourselves now to the lexical items of the survey, we may for each area calculate and comment on the percentage of forms which are found also in Runyankore. The highest figure, 66%, is in Area 5; this is predictable since Area 5 comprises the part of Ankole District which was included in the survey (see 1.5.2.). A close second with 62% is Area 1, the North-East to which we have constantly referred in 4.3.3. above. Next in line, but with much lower figures, come the areas adjacent to Area 1, that is, Areas 2 and 3, with 34% and 30% respectively. Area 11, adjacent to Area 5, has 33.3%. If we continue working through the areas in a generally North-East to South-West direction, moving away from the Runyankore area, the figures continue to drop as might be expected. Thus Area 4 has 28%, Area 6 (although it adjoins Area 5) drops to 24% and Area 12 has 20%. The low figure of 12% is reached with Area 7, roughly the centre of the Rukiga area. As we continue to move in the same direction further away from Runyankore, the figures, instead of continuing to drop, start rising again. Thus Area 8, the next one on from Area 7, has 26% and the same figure is found in Areas 9 and 10 which adjoin the Kinyarwanda area. Area 13, the most southerly of those which adjoin the Kinyarwanda area, has 34%, the same figure as that already noted for Area 2 in the North. The only area in the South-West which does not have a high figure is that of the Batwa, Area 14, with 12.5%. The general picture presented by this analysis of only lexical items is not different from that described above on the basis of all the items in the survey; it may, however, be thought to have slightly greater significance since the items compared are all of one kind.

4.3.6. The figures just given for forms shared by each area with Runyankore together with figures for the amount held in common by every pair amongst the fourteen areas, Runyankore, Kinyarwanda and Luganda were used to produce Table 4.3. This is a group average classification of the fourteen areas and three languages.² It will be seen that Areas 1 and 5 are more closely related to Runyankore than they are to the other areas of Rukiga. Area 14 stands completely on

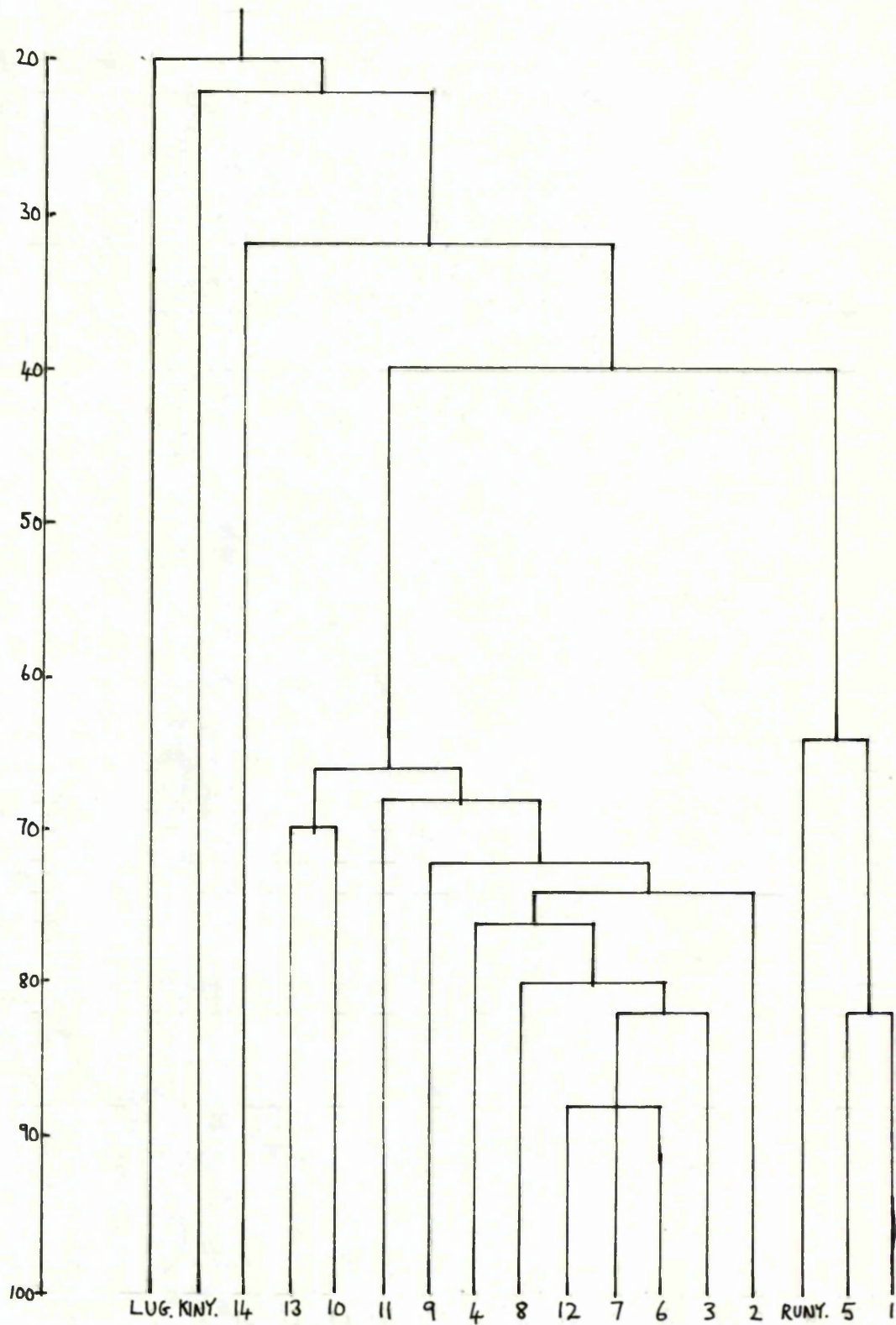


Table 4.3.

its own, but Areas 2 - 4 and 6 - 13 belong together. Within this group the closest relationship is found between Areas 6, 7 and 12. Areas 3, 4 and 8 are not far removed from these. Area 9, however, is a little further away in the degree of its relationship, as are Area 11 and, in a pair, Areas 10 and 13. The table therefore shows the disparity between the areas in the South-West and those in the centre which we have already described in terms of amounts of Runyankore and Kinyarwanda material. Table 4.3. also confirms the point made in 4.1.2. above that Runyankore is more closely related ~~to~~ Kinyarwanda than it is to Luganda. We can now make the additional observation that Rukiga is also more closely related to Kinyarwanda than it is to Luganda, but more closely related to Runyankore than to either of those languages.

4.4.1. Table 4.2. showed main forms: for each item two, sometimes three, forms. These forms are not all the forms recorded in the survey, as a glance at the maps in Appendix B will show. However, for the vast majority of informants at least 95% of the forms which they gave are covered in Table 4.2. Having calculated such a percentage for each individual informant, we can then make an average percentage for each of the fourteen areas. Areas 1-8, 11 and 12 all have averages above 95%. Areas 9, 10 and 13 have figures of 90%, 89% and 94% respectively. Areas 9 and 10 each have two informants with percentages below 85%; the lowest figure in Area 10 is 71%. So it appears that Areas 9, 10 and 13 conform least to the overall picture of the Rukiga area. (Area 14 has an average of 48% and so conforms least of all; we have already seen that this area is consistently at variance with all the others.)

4.4.2. Areas 9 and 10 were also the most difficult to establish as areas in the sense that, whereas in the other cases having set up an area and found the form in each item used by the majority of informants in the area one might expect all the informants to have most of their forms in common with the majority forms of their area, in Areas 9 and 10 no potential division would allow any informant to have more than 80% of his forms in common with the majority forms. In short, Areas 9 and 10 are the areas of greatest heterogeneity. Area 13 is not far behind them in this. So precisely those areas which have a surprisingly high amount of Runyankore material in view of their

geographical proximity to the Kinyarwanda area also have a greater degree of heterogeneity than is found elsewhere.

4.4.3. The pattern that we have observed splits the Rukiga area into three parts: the North-East, next to Runyankore, with Runyankore forms; the centre, with Kinyarwanda forms; the South-West, next to Kinyarwanda, with Runyankore forms and greater heterogeneity. We turn now to the interpretation of this pattern. Chapter 5 examines the question of division into dialects and Chapter 6 looks at the implications of the pattern for the past of the peoples living in the three parts of the Rukiga area.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 4

1. In some cases this majority was slender, but in many others it was a clear majority and in some all the informants in the area had the same form. With only four exceptions, no informant had less than 65% of his forms in common with the majority forms of his area. The average was 77% in common.
2. For the methodology of this classification see Henrici (1973). Table 4.3. does not necessarily show the genealogy of the areas and languages concerned because degrees of similarity may reflect borrowing as well as derivation from a common ancestor. The linguistic distance measured by the vertical scale cannot therefore be interpreted as a time chart.

5. LANGUAGE AND DIALECT

"Nous parlons latin." (Paris, 1907)

"Il y a autant de dialectes que de lieux." (de Saussure, 1916)

5.1.1. One of the problems with which modern linguistics grapples is whether to retain traditional categories, such as 'word', 'parts of speech', 'clause' and so on, by redefining them with appropriate scientific rigour, or to discard them altogether in favour of new ones established without preconceptions as and when analysis gives rise to them. The concepts of language and dialect seem almost too basic to discard and yet it is very difficult to define them such that in any given speech community they become discrete entities. Paris (1907) held that there are no dialects because there is no discreteness, either spatial or temporal, in language, but only continuity, both spatial and temporal. The only term in the sphere of dialectology which seems capable of rigorous definition and clear-cut application is 'idiolect': the total speech-habits of one person. But to consider these in isolation is contrary to the very nature of language itself, which consists of communication between one person and another. And, as Weinreich (1954) has pointed out, if linguistic description proceeds by idiolects its task is both inexhaustible and trivial. What follows is an attempt to apply some of the criteria that have been adduced for the definitions of language and dialect to the situation in Rukiga.

5.2.1. In Europe language areas are often stated in terms of political ones. Thus, for example, German and Dutch are considered to be separate languages 'occupying' the political areas of Germany and the Netherlands respectively. The fact that there is a chain of dialects, each mutually intelligible with the next, stretching across the political frontier, is ignored in such an assessment. It would be an even greater disregard of the linguistic facts to suppose that Rukiga was the language spoken in and throughout, but only in, the Kigezi district of Uganda. For in the extreme South-West of the district we find Kinyarwanda spoken and just South of the Impenetrable Forest there is an enclave of Ruhunde-speakers. There is the same phenomenon of a chain of mutually intelligible dialects as in the

German-Dutch situation stretching across the border into Ankole District and there are Rukiga-speakers in the political state of Rwanda. My informants 97, 96 and 95 were in Rwanda: it is obvious from the maps that no linguistic boundary can be drawn separating them from the remainder of my informants, who were all in Uganda (though some of them were very close to the Rwanda border). It is clear, then, that political boundaries are irrelevant to our present discussion.

5.3.1. A variety of other extralinguistic criteria have been adduced in the delimitation of language and dialect: geographical, ethnographical, religious and so on. In an area of such marked geographical features as Kigezi, it would be foolish to ignore the effect which physical phenomena like steep hills, forests, lakes and so forth can have on intercommunication. If we find boundaries between linguistic features running along barriers to communication, such correspondences are not to be attributed to pure chance. But we cannot from these occurrences conclude that a geographical feature will in every circumstance constitute a linguistic boundary. To generalise, the correlation between intralinguistic phenomena and extralinguistic ones may be significant, but the latter cannot be used to define, far less to predict, the former. This will apply to phenomena of race, religion (the Bakiga and Bahororo seem, for example, to be unique among the interlacustrine Bantu in not worshipping the Bacwezi spirits), customs, objects, whether ceremonial or functional, and the like.

5.4.1. Race deserves perhaps closer consideration because its connection with language is clearly a very intimate one. If we wanted to define a language area in terms of the race which used it, we should need as a precondition a working definition of the race. This is no easy matter. Social anthropology, like linguistics, has its fashions. At one time physical features were regarded as all-important: blood groups, skin colour, cephalic index, nasal index, zygomatic bones and so on.¹ In Ankole the ruling pastoralist group, the Bahima, are distinguished in physical appearance from the agriculturalist group who served them, the Bairu. The same applies in Rwanda to the Batutsi and Bahutu. Amongst the Bakiga there are no such distinctions, so one could not use physical appearance as the basis for any division within

these Rukiga-speakers. The Bakiga are not different physically from the Bairu and Bahutu, so that physical appearance could also not be used to draw any line between Rukiga on the one hand and Runyankore and Kinyarwanda on the other. Amongst the informants of the survey, however, there were included two Batwa (see 1.5.1.). These people are markedly different from the Bakiga in that they are characterised by pygmy stature. We have seen many times in Chapter 3 that their linguistic forms are different from those of all the other informants, so that in this one case there is a correlation between physical appearance and language. Social anthropologists today reject physical appearance as a criterion for race. They also now reject language, although it once featured largely in their work. Obviously, we could not use a race in a definition of its language if the race itself were already defined in terms of the language. Today, in fact, customs and social organisation are the favoured themes in discussion of racial affiliation. In terms of these it is possible to draw a line between the Bakiga on the one hand and the Runyankore and Kinyarwanda on the other. The difference is between a segmentary society of independent clans (see 1.3.) and a centralised state with an aristocratic hierarchy.² Can we then say that people adhering to the former speak Rukiga (whether this is a language or a dialect) while people who are members of the latter speak something else? The practical difficulty involved in distinguishing between the segmentary society and the centralised state is, unfortunately, of exactly the same kind as that involved in independent consideration of dialects, namely, we are faced not with discrete segments, but with a continuum in which any dividing line can be criticised as being based on criteria which are, in the last analysis, arbitrary. It seems, therefore, illusory to suppose that extralinguistic criteria are necessarily more readily definable or delimitable than linguistic ones. Thus there are groups of people who sporadically or half-heartedly acknowledged allegiance to the kingdoms near them, but otherwise asserted an independence more characteristic of the segmentary society. For example, the clans in the Bufundi area (represented in the survey by informants 112, 118 and 119) paid homage to the king of Rwanda when forced by conquest to do so; the people of Ikumba (near informant 101) sought to pay tribute to the king of Mpororo when Rwabugiri of Rwanda (see 6.2.5.) terrorised their area at the end of the

last century; the people of Kajara (informants 3, 4, 12, 13, 18 and 19) came for a time under the control of the king of Mpororo (see Chapter 1, notes 16 and 21); but all these peoples re-asserted their autonomy when the immediate dangers had passed. It might be argued that submitting to an authority imposed by conquest is only a superficial aspect of social organisation and that there are deeper-seated features which are not subject to such change. Certainly there are none which are totally resistant to outside influence; if then we choose one or more features of society as our criteria for delimiting a language area and later find that these features have advanced or retreated in their geographical distribution without any perceptible corresponding linguistic change, our delimitation will have become linguistically irrelevant. And since there is no reason to suppose that a change in social matters will go hand in hand with linguistic change (and indeed, abundant evidence that it does not do so), it seems clear that we must abandon all reference to extralinguistic phenomena of whatever kind and concentrate on the linguistic material itself.

5.5.1. Before doing so with reference to Rukiga, however, there is one further point that should be made. What has been said so far and what follows is all from the standpoint of an outsider looking in at the Bakiga and their linguistic habits. Might it not be an obvious but yet overlooked way of resolving the question to ask the Bakiga themselves what they think? If they regard themselves as using a single language, then shall we not say that it is such? Certainly any Mukiga will say that he speaks Rukiga and that this is different from Runyankore which is spoken by the Banyankore and so on. The Bahororo, however, give divided answers. Some say they speak Rukiga and others, Ruhororo,³ yet the two groups speak what appears to be the same language. Amongst some Bakiga, there is an awareness of differences between themselves in linguistic matters. So, for example, I have heard the term /rusi:gi/ - the language (or dialect) of the Basigi clan. And I have heard a member of this clan say of members of other Bakiga clans, /baragamba nka abanyankore/ - 'they speak like Banyankore'. So that on the one hand we have Bakiga separating themselves from Banyankore in a linguistic classification and, on the other, Bakiga grouping some of their own tribe with the Banyankore. I invariably found in presenting two

synonymous terms to a Mukiga that he would choose the one which he himself used and label it Rukiga and then call the other one Runyankore. There is evidently an awareness of Rukiga's being different from Runyankore, but there is also an awareness of their similarities. These thoughts of the Bakiga are tied up with emotional considerations of tribe affiliation - far from the scientific rigour which is demanded by linguistics - and, indeed, to state that a Mukiga will say that he speaks Rukiga solves nothing, because on what grounds does he call himself a Mukiga? The answer is largely a matter of geography or politics today: a man on the Kigezi side of the Ankole-Kigezi border calls himself a Mukiga and a man on the Ankole side calls himself a Munyankore (unless, of course, he or a remembered ancestor has migrated from the Kigezi side). And so ultimately it is a political consideration which has been paramount in deciding the application of the term Rukiga and we have already rejected this along with other extralinguistic factors as a basis for determining linguistic matters. The fact that a sharply defined border between Ankole and Kigezi has existed only in recent years does not affect the issue here: if a man defines his language by reference to his tribe and his tribe by something else, such as political allegiance (or lack of it, in the case of the Bakiga), customs or religion, he is using something outside language to settle a question inside language.

5.6.1. We turn, then, to intralinguistic considerations. Firstly, there is the matter of mutual intelligibility. This was used as a criterion for dialect boundaries as early as Ronjat (1915). For Hockett (1958) it offers the opportunity to set up new categories: a group of idiolects each one of which is mutually intelligible with all the others in the group constitutes an L-simplex; a group of idiolects each one of which is mutually intelligible with at least one other in the group (so that there is a chain of dialects, consecutive links being mutually intelligible) constitutes an L-complex. All my informants, with the exception of the Batwa (informants 126 and 127) may be said to form an L-simplex in which Runyankore-speakers also belong, although, of course, the mutual intelligibility that exists does not exclude misunderstandings and occasional difficulty in communication. It simply means that communication is possible. To be more precise than

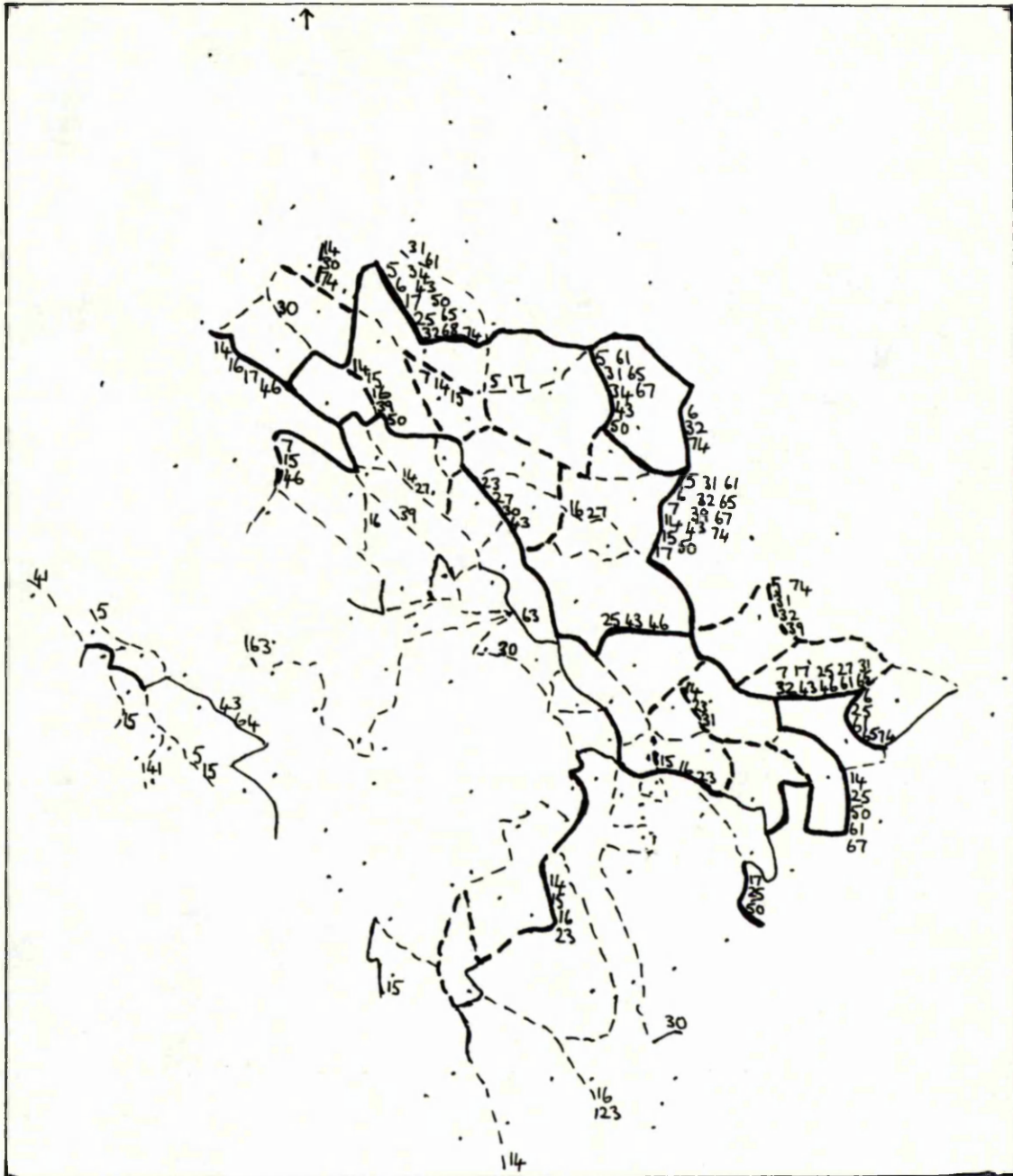
this would necessitate quantifying the intelligibility, a procedure that demands a method of measurement. One possibility is some form of psycholinguistic test, such as the reading of a story followed by questions on its content. But the results of such a test depend on the will of the examinee to participate and other non-linguistic factors. Stankiewicz (1957) rejected the criterion of intelligibility because it is based on individual talent and training rather than qualities proper to the dialects themselves. If we dismiss the idea of a psycholinguistic test, then we must compare purely linguistic data. An obvious approach is to measure the amount of vocabulary in common between two idiolects. Clearly, we cannot know the totality of the speech habits of the people involved and their lexicon is in theory not finite, so we are obliged to compare basic vocabulary, defined according to some agreed criterion. The limited mutual intelligibility that exists between Rukiga and Kinyarwanda is a product of their lexical similarity, but an average Kinyarwanda sentence is baffling to a Mukiga because of the dissimilar verbal systems (see 4.2.7.) and phonologies (see 4.2.2.). It is, of course, possible to conceive of mutual intelligibility resulting from similarity of grammatical systems or shared underlying forms and rules (in a 'transformational' approach), but hardly of mutual intelligibility resulting solely from these without any lexical similarity. Since lexical similarity is an indispensable element in mutual intelligibility, while grammatical or structural similarity is necessary to a lesser degree, mutual intelligibility seems to depend on an incomplete view of language (whichever aspect of language one considers most important) and so might be dismissed as offering insufficient evidence for dialect division, insufficient in the sense that it is not broadly enough based. Stankiewicz (1957) gives the accord of mutual intelligibility with lexical similarity more than with structural correspondences as his second reason for rejecting it as a criterion for dialect division and he seems to assume that whatever criterion is chosen it should attach greater weight to structural considerations than to lexical ones. (We shall return to this question shortly.) Ladefoged, Glick and Cripser (1971) (1971), on the other hand, say that speech-communities with 72% words in common have 50% intercomprehension and proceed to group Runyoro, Rutooro, Rutagwenda, Runyankore, Ruhororo and Rukiga as one language

because they have more than 75% of their words in common. The figure of 75% is quite arbitrary and its arbitrariness compromises the apparent objectivity of the percentage calculations for the individual speech-communities. Yet if we do not take a definite figure as a dividing line between belonging to a single language and not doing so, we can only be impressionistic and in that case forfeit all scientific rigour. In any case, the figure used by Ladefoged, Glick and Cripser has not helped us to delimit Rukiga. Nor do Hockett's L-simplex and L-complex, for, as we saw above, Runyankore is within the same L-simplex as Rukiga (basing ourselves on the imprecise observation that communication is possible between the two speech-communities) and the L-complex in which Rukiga occurs would include Rutooro, Runyoro and possibly Luganda, Lusoga and others further East in Uganda as well as Ruhaya and a string stretching South into Tanzania. We must reject the criterion of mutual intelligibility for our purposes because even if we accept the use of lexicon rather than other aspects of language, we still cannot decide at what percentage of shared lexicon we should draw the line between mutual intelligibility and the lack of it. So in any given case we cannot say categorically that it exists or that it does not.

5.7.1. We must look instead at actual linguistic features. In doing so it seems essential to work in an ascending rather than in a descending order, that is, we must start with small units and build up to larger ones. We noted in 5.1.1. above that the term 'idiolect' is capable of precise definition as the total speech-habits of an individual person; the terms 'language' and 'dialect' elude precise definition. We shall no longer try, therefore, to take a large area and carve it into languages or dialects; rather we shall take idiolects and try to put them together. In short, we shall be agglomerative rather than divisive. If we find that a number of idiolects have features in common, can we not say that they form a dialect? Unfortunately, it is not so simple. The problem is that idiolect A may have some features in common with idiolect B and some others in common with idiolect C, while further features are shared by idiolects B and C, but not present in A. This picture must be magnified to the thousands upon thousands of idiolects that exist or, if we were to succeed in grouping idiolects into small units of some sort, to the

same pattern emerging between those units. In short, the boundaries between linguistic features in their geographical distribution, the isoglosses of the maps, do not correspond. Dauzat (1922) thinks that they are likely to correspond only when they run along a physical barrier (mountains not usually being a sufficient barrier, but rather forests or seas) or when they reflect a former movement of one people between the two under consideration which has split the latter for a period. In the Rukiga area, the hills are physical barriers along which isoglosses run, but each isogloss chooses its own hill! The Impenetrable Forest sometimes attracts an isogloss, but not when, for example, the areas to the North and South of it are both subject to the same influences (see 6.2.). The question of a people moving between two others also arises in 6.2.: the Banyarwanda seem to have been in an area between the Bahororo and the Bakimbiri clan, but when the Banyarwanda departed these two groups did not come together as they had been before, so there is no single boundary of corresponding isoglosses of the kind envisaged by Dauzat.

5.7.2. On some of the maps where isoglosses can be drawn, it might be felt that they are hardly warranted in view of the irregular distribution of the forms. Wolf (1969) argues that forcing complex geographical variation into the mould of isogloss representation allows comparison with neater distributions and is justifiable on those grounds. On some maps, however, it is quite impossible to draw any isoglosses at all, because the features are completely mixed in their distribution: this applies to Maps 2, 3, 8, 9, 12, 13, 37, 48, 51, 52, 55, 62, 69, 70, 71 and 72 in Appendix B. (In some of these, while it is not possible to draw a line which divides one feature from another, it is possible to draw a line to indicate the extreme limit of a feature.) The isoglosses which can be drawn on the maps in Appendix B are reproduced in Map 5.1. It will be seen that there is a bundle running from South-East to North-West and a large number of individual isoglosses running singly, but roughly in the same direction as the bundle. The bundle itself splits and reunites throughout its length, so that sometimes as many as seventeen isoglosses coincide while otherwise this number is split into two or three groups. A further



Map 5.1.

- 5 --- Isogloss (no. of item)
 — Isogloss and area boundary
 --- More than two isoglosses
 — More than two isoglosses and area boundary

quite separate set of isoglosses appears in the extreme South-West of the Rukiga area. The differences whose distribution is illustrated by the isoglosses are not all of the same kind. If we used every possible isogloss in our delimitation of linguistic units, those units would be idiolects, since no two people speak exactly alike. There are a number of examples on the map where a single informant is completely enclosed by isoglosses, so that the material he supplied is not wholly identical with that supplied by any of the informants immediately round about him. We do not want here to describe each idiolect separately: we are seeking larger units, but clearly we cannot use any and every isogloss to define the boundaries of them.

5.7.3. We might perhaps select certain isoglosses and reject others. But how do we decide which are important and which not? Mayers (1968) lists phonemic, lexical, grammatical and phonetic isoglosses in that order of importance. Stankiewicz (1957) holds that dialects should be distinguished by their phoneme inventories, since grammar and syntax show uniformity over wide areas. In matters of morphology at least, the survey area does not show such uniformity; the tense-system structure also varies considerably (see 3.14. and 3.16.). Pulgram (1964) holds that all the idiolects in a single dialect have the same structure in phonemic, morphemic, syntactic and lexical matters. Application of this principle would split the survey area into a very large number of dialects. Polak (1954) says that within a single language the morphological and syntactical structure is constant. This would split the survey area into a large number of languages! Stankiewicz's primacy of phonemic data is equally hard to apply to the Rukiga situation: in the survey the items of phonemic significance (Items 1, 8, 12 and 13) are noticeably amongst those showing a completely mixed distribution, so that none of the isoglosses on Map 5.1. represents a phonemic feature. It is phonemic items that Weinreich (1954) uses to set up 'diasystems', which are two systems with partial similarities, represented in such a way that features which occupy equivalent places in their respective systems are together. (The possibility of a comparison of systems which such a definition presupposes, would not, of course, be admitted by the more extreme proponents of structuralism

in linguistics: Weinreich and Pulgram do discuss the theoretical implications of the idea.) We may set up such a diasystem for the phonemic patterns found in Rukiga:-

$$\begin{array}{l} /a = \alpha = \epsilon = e = i = i: = \text{ } \text{ } = o = u = u: = \frac{/ei/}{/s/} = \frac{/ei \sim \text{ } i/}{/s \sim \text{ } ts/} // \\ /b = t = k = g = m = n = \text{ } = f = v = \frac{/s \sim \text{ } f/}{/s \sim \text{ } ts/} = h = r = \text{ } = t = p = d // \end{array}$$

Rukiga may accordingly be designated a diasystem, but since the participating systems do not have clear-cut geographical distributions, we remain with the problem of whether or not they constitute dialects. Pulgram is clear that diasystems are not realities, but constructs to be judged by the results they yield: other than giving us a conveniently tabulated statement of the phonemic systems found in the Rukiga area, the 'result' of the diasystem depicted above has not helped in the task at hand.

5.7.4. Ivić (1962) offers a number of yardsticks by which to measure the relative importance of isoglosses. In general he takes structural matters to be more important than lexical ones, but if a phoneme is to be established on the basis of only one minimal pair, then its impact on the language as an instrument of communication is small and so this structural item is in practice probably less important than some of the non-structural ones. The structural feature of Items 12 and 13, where only one minimal pair can be found to justify the existence of two phonemes rather than one (see 3.5.9.) is less important than that in Item 1 (see 3.5.18.) and Item 8 (see 3.9.6.) where in each case a number of minimal pairs can be quoted and probably also less important than the structural items concerning the tense-system, since this system applies to the entire stock of verbs in the language (other than defective verbs: cf. 2.5.3.). Ivić says that an item occurring in many frequent words is more important than one associated with a few rare words. In determining the relative importance of phonetic items, Ivić pays heed to the extent of the difference between two sounds in acoustic and articulatory terms. The problem here is that different ways of measuring phonetic similarity produce different results. We may propose an ordering of the phonetic items in the present survey

based on place of articulation, but different criteria will produce a different ordering. If we take the [bwa]/[ga] difference (Item 4) as more important than the [ke]/[tʃe] (Item 2) and [ge]/[dʒe] (Item 3) differences because Item 4 alternates between a bilabial plosive and a velar one, whereas Items 2 and 3 jump only from the dental position to the velar; it could just as well be argued that in Item 4 both forms have an element of backness and the difference between them is that one has a back vowel with bilabiality and the other a back consonant, a difference less important than that in Items 2 and 3. We could perhaps agree that the [s]/[ʃ] difference (Items 5, 12 and 13) would come further down the scale, since the respective points of articulation are close to each other and both sounds are fricatives, but where should we order the [bɨ] semi-vowel/[bɨ] fricative difference (Item 7)? In this case the points of articulation are the same and the difference between the sounds resides in the degree of constriction. The relative importance of [ə]/[i] (Item 6) and [ai]/[ei] (Item 9) is perhaps to be determined by comparing the distances between the respective forms on the standard 'vowel figure', which reflects tongue-positions. A further principle proposed by Ivić is that the fact of the existence of a distinctive feature is more important than the possibilities of its combinations with other features: in the present material there are three phonemes which exist in some varieties of the language and not in others, while the combinatory possibilities of phonemes seem constant over the whole area, with few exceptions such as [sk] (see 3.5.19.), [ʃtʃ] (see 3.5.20.), and clusters involving back consonants (see 3.7.4.)

5.7.5. According to which layer of language is taken, a different picture of potential dialect divisions may emerge. In Yiddish dialectology, phonological criteria have been taken as definitive and indeed a single isogloss has been deemed sufficient to delimit a dialect (see Herzog (1969)), but Wolf (1969) has shown that areas established on the basis of gender sometimes show the same pattern as the phonological ones and sometimes show subdivisions of them. Similarly, Schwartz (1969) shows that lexical criteria give a different dialect division from phonological ones, but can be used to fill out the inadequate picture given by the latter alone. Weinreich (1969)

subdivides a phonologically established dialect area by means of lexical isoglosses. We shall now compare phonetic, morphological and lexical isoglosses in the present survey. If phonetic items are taken, only four maps show clear isoglosses: nos. 5, 6, 7 and 11. (The isogloss for Map 11 is not shown on Map 5.1.) There is some correspondence between Map 5 and Map 6 in the isogloss which separates the North-East from the rest of the area, but the isogloss in the South-West on Map 5 is absent in Map 6. In Map 7 the isogloss separating Area 5 in the East from the remainder is common to Maps 5 and 6 too, but the remaining isoglosses in the North and West of Map 7 have no counterparts in Maps 5 and 6. Map 11 presents a picture all of its own. For the phonetic items, therefore, the only dialect division which could be made on the basis of at least three items is between the East (Area 5) and the remainder of the area. Since these three items are from a total of thirteen, it is difficult to attach much weight to the division which they suggest. If morphological items are taken, there is again considerable divergence between the isoglosses that can be drawn. These are in Items 14, 15, 16, 17, 23 and 74, all concerned with verbs. In Map 74, the isogloss largely follows the line (dividing the North-East from the rest of the area) which was noted above in Maps 5 and 6 and is also found with a large number of the lexical items. In Map 17 the isogloss often follows the same line, but sometimes breaks away on its own. Maps 14, 15, 16 and 23 show in the South isoglosses (running well to the West of those mentioned hitherto) dividing the central Southern part of the Rukiga area. There is some correspondence between the isoglosses on these four maps in that sector. Further North, there is some correspondence between the isoglosses of Maps 14 and 15, dividing off a rather larger North-Eastern section than before, but in Maps 16 and 23 the isoglosses follow independent paths, dividing off even larger North-Eastern sections. So morphological items do not suggest unequivocal dialect boundaries any more than phonetic ones. If we insist on using morphological isoglosses to delimit dialects, the picture that emerges will be quite different from that presented by the phonetic ones. For example, the correspondence in the South of morphological isoglosses referred to above has no counterpart amongst the phonetic ones. So in this case the former would suggest the existence of two dialects in the area stated and the latter, only one.

Or again, the North-Eastern dialect will have a different area depending on which set of isoglosses is taken. (Of the morphological items just considered only Item 16 is, on a strict view, "structural" as regards the forms separated by the isogloss, that is to say, there are structural differences between some informants in some of the other morphological items, but the isoglosses drawn are separating different forms for a single function. In Item 16 the two forms separated by the isogloss are allied to different functions beyond the identity of function implied by the uniform question: see 3.16.2.) The conflicting picture formed by all the isoglosses just discussed can be seen in Map 5.1.

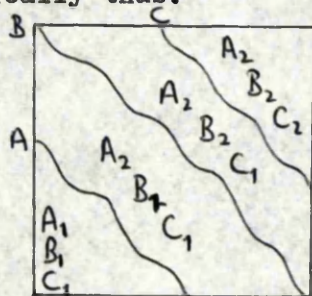
5.7.6. This map also includes isoglosses for some of the lexical items. Ivić says that a difference between language-varieties of two totally different lexemes is more important than a difference between two lexemes which consists only in a single phoneme. Both types of difference are well represented in the present material. If we restrict ourselves to those items whose isoglosses feature in Map 5.1., then Items 25, 27, 30, 31, 43, 46, 50, 63, 65 and 67 belong to the first group and Items 32, 34, 39, 41, 61, 64 and 68 to the second. While there are at first sight some instances where a number of isoglosses from one group run together without any isoglosses from the other group (for example, the run of nos. 25, 43 and 46 in the centre-East of the map), there is no consistent picture of the two groups of isoglosses behaving differently from each other. We are not therefore called upon to rate one group as more important than the other. The lexical isoglosses as a whole agree more with the phonetic ones than with the morphological ones: there are no lexical isoglosses coinciding with the morphological ones that divide the central Southern area. The generally South-East to North-West pattern has already been noted; there are so many different routes taken by the isoglosses that run in that direction, however, that the problem of dialect division in the area seems a formidable one.

5.7.7. Perhaps we should take not isoglosses occurring singly, but only bundles of isoglosses, as relevant to our purpose. This is

advocated by Dauzat (1922), Gauchat (1903), Ascoli,⁴ Weinreich (1954) and McIntosh (1952). But again there is a decision to be made that can only be arbitrary: how many makes a bundle? (If one rejects an absolute number in favour of a number that is a function of the quantity of the sample, the arbitrary nature of the decision is not lessened.) Hall (1964) suggests that between five and twenty isoglosses will be sufficient to characterise a small region, but more will be needed for a large country. Map 5.1. shows twenty-six isoglosses; a thicker line indicates the co-incidence of three or more isoglosses. There are a few cases where a single informant is completely surrounded by the thicker lines, so that to use these as a criterion for delimiting units would still produce units that are far smaller than what we are aiming at. For Hall a large number of isoglosses will divide off a separate language. But how many makes a large number? De Saussure (1916) said when the isoglosses were "suffisamment nombreuses" they set off a dialect. Such a formulation is obviously unsatisfactory. Are the isoglosses which separate the North-East of the Rukiga area from the South-West, up to seventeen, sufficient? We should not want to make two languages out of Rukiga, so that seventeen cannot be Hall's 'large number'. We might, however, make two dialects, so perhaps seventeen is enough for de Saussure. But how are we to decide?

5.7.8. If we do not insist that our isoglosses should exactly coincide, we may speak of groups of isoglosses which run roughly in the same direction. We have already noted the group of Map 5.1. which run in a South-East/North-West direction. We could perhaps speak of one dialect lying to the South-West of this group and another lying to the North-East. The area between the most south-westerly and most north-easterly isoglosses is then termed a border zone. This idea is found in Gauchat (1903) and Gamillscheg (1928). Hall (1964) speaks of graded or transitional zones in the same sense. Ivić (1962) defines transitional dialects (rather than 'zones') as those possessing features present in one or more neighbouring dialects and only such features. The area between the most south-westerly and the most north-easterly isoglosses in our South-East/North-West group fits well into this description, for each isogloss concerned divides features which are found respectively in the entire area to the South-West and the entire

area to the North-East, so that the territory across which the isoglosses run contains the features of those two areas, but no independent features of its own. We may abstract from Map 5.1. diagrammatically thus:-



A_1, A_2 : the forms used

A, B : the isoglosses

The area between line A and line C in the diagram is the transitional zone or dialect. The concept of transitional dialects appears to present a nice escape from the problem at hand, but it can be criticised on several scores. It completely ignores any isoglosses that do not belong to a group having similar directional tendencies. Do we say that an isogloss running on its own has no significance in the delimitation of dialects or do we use it as a secondary criterion? The transitional zone which would be set up on consideration of Map 5.1. is approaching half the size of the total Rukiga area. Can such a large area be seemingly subordinated to smaller ones? It is often in border zones that the most interesting forms are found; even if we have a transitional dialect in Ivić's sense, so that the forms are already known from neighbouring dialects, their combination (A_2 , B_1 , and C_1 in the diagram, for example), may be of interest. Does the framework of dialects and transitional dialects do justice to the true state of the language-varieties?

5.7.9. Ivić also looks at the question of the thickness of the isogloss groups. That is, whether a number of isoglosses run together, close to each other or well apart from each other. He proposes dividing the map into squares of equal size, to see which squares have most isoglosses. A square with many isoglosses then covers an area of strong dialectal differentiation. The division of Map 5.1. into squares will certainly pin down the obvious dissimilarity between an area astride the South-East/North-West isogloss group and an area in the ^{North-East corner} ~~centre~~ of the map, where there are few isoglosses and so weak dialectal differentiation. It is clear also that the isogloss referred

to above in which Maps 14, 15, 16 and 23 are represented, but which has no counterpart in other maps and few near neighbours in them either, implies a different kind of division from the large group of isoglosses separating the North-East from the remainder of the area, having a bundle following exactly the same course together with a number of roughly parallel neighbours. To state this difference solves no problems, however; it rather adds to them: for how do we decide which kind of division is the more significant? The complete co-incidence of many isoglosses versus the generally parallel and close running of many might reasonably be resolved in a decision that the former occurrence is more significant, but what of the situation we have, in which it is a case of complete co-incidence of a few isoglosses versus the generally parallel and close running of many? Which occurrence is more significant here?

5.8.1. These problems all arise through seeking a boundary which totally and impassably delimits a dialect area. Would it not, however, be possible to define dialects in terms which make no reference to their outer limits, but rather concentrate on their centres or cores? Bach (1950) uses the concept of 'Sprachlandschaft' (language area) to overcome the problem of boundaries which for him are static, inflexible phenomena. He proposes areas which are dynamic, exerting forces. Unfortunately, his work is intertwined with cultural considerations, which we have already rejected. Gauchat (1903) defines a dialect as the speech of an area which has a core within which a sum of items differing from the corresponding items in a neighbouring dialect are united, even if these items are not the same over the whole area. Ivić (1962) speaks similarly of a kernel, in which all the features delimited by a group of isoglosses appear together. We can see two kernels in the present material, one on each side of the South-East/North-West group of isoglosses. Or in Hall's (1964) terminology, we may talk of two focal areas.

5.9.1. We have so far limited the discussion to qualitative distinctions. An alternative approach is the quantitative one. Thus Mayers (1968) proposes that a dialect core should be established by the clustering of similar percentages of shared retention. Such a

formulation is clearly diachronic: Mayers is thinking in terms of a temporally antecedent parent language which has "survived" to varying degrees in present-day dialects. The degree of retention has been used in 'glottochronology' to determine the date at which a parent language split into separate languages or dialects,⁵ the present independence of these being assumed; Mayers wants to use the same methods to prove or disprove that independence. It is clear that the idiolects of all my informants reflect a common ancestor which has also given rise to Runyankore. Where today a Rukiga form differs from the corresponding Runyankore form, we do not know whether one of them or neither of them is the same as the corresponding form in the common ancestor; only where a form is shared (or at least the root of a word is held in common, beneath the standard phonetic changes, new prefixes and so on) can we talk with any certainty of the nature of the ancestor. In some of the items in the material, there are common roots throughout the answers to a given question; in others, this is not the case. Our lack of certainty about the ancestor need not, however, prevent a quantitative arrangement of the material. We can calculate for each speaker the percentage of the items supplied by him which are found today in Runyankore; we then have an index of the divergence of each speaker from Runyankore. (The use of the term 'divergence' does not, of course, imply that Runyankore has somehow remained static while Rukiga-speakers have gradually lost some Runyankore forms and acquired new ones to replace them; in fact, in calculating a correlation between Rukiga today and Runyankore today, we are making no necessary diachronic reference at all.) The percentages are shown for each informant on Map 4.2. The features which these figures represent, such as the appearance of Runyankore forms along the Kinyarwanda border, are discussed elsewhere; here we are concerned with locating dialect cores. It is possible to find several clusters of similar percentages; in particular, clusters of low percentages occur, usually surrounded by a ring of higher percentages. Since these clusters have similar percentages to each other and since they could in some cases be joined together to form larger clusters, it would seem questionable to set up each as a dialect core. The only striking and consistent pattern to emerge from the map is that of a difference between the North-East and extreme East on the one hand, where the figures are all higher than 60%, and the

remainder of the Rukiga area on the other, where the figures are all less than 60%. The division between the North-East and the South-West has already been noted above in the discussion of isoglosses; Map 4.2. confirms the picture that emerged from those criteria. The cores set up by quantitative criteria are, of course, related to cores established by consideration of isoglosses, since the figures used for the former are derived from calculations relating to the occurrence of the linguistic features which the isoglosses divide.

5.9.2. The evidence points, then, to the setting up of two distinct units in the Rukiga area: one in the North-East, its core being the cluster of 67% and 69% at informants 9, 15, 16 and 22; the other covering the remainder of the area, its core being the cluster of 20%, 23% and 24% at informants 76, 77 and 88. Only two informants, nos. 126 and 127, have figures lower than 20%; their 13% and 10% stand out as completely different from any others and we are obliged to posit a third unit for them. The three units which we have established clearly reflect the situation shown in Table 4.3. In the table Areas 1 and 5 belong together; Areas 2 - 4 and 6 - 13 are in a group together; Area 14 is on its own. Areas 1 and 5 are the areas of the North-East and extreme East where the informants' percentages of Runyankore forms are higher than 60%; Areas 2 - 4 and 6 - 13 are those where the percentages range from 20% to 60%; Area 14 is the area of informants 126 and 127. There is also a correlation between the three units and race. Their areas correspond respectively to those of the Bahororo, the Bakiga and the Batwa. The three units may be called dialects, not least because of this correlation with race: we have established units by basing ourselves on a particular presentation of linguistic facts, but we have found a relationship to divisions more readily acceptable to the layman based on extralinguistic features which he might well call upon to decide the question of dialects.

5.9.3. The objection might be raised that since the percentage figures form a continuum, any division of them into groups is arbitrary. In fact, however, there are two clear groups of speakers, a large number of informants having between 24% and 53%, with a peak of eleven informants having 29%, and a further (smaller) number having between 61% and 77%,

with very few informants between the two groups.

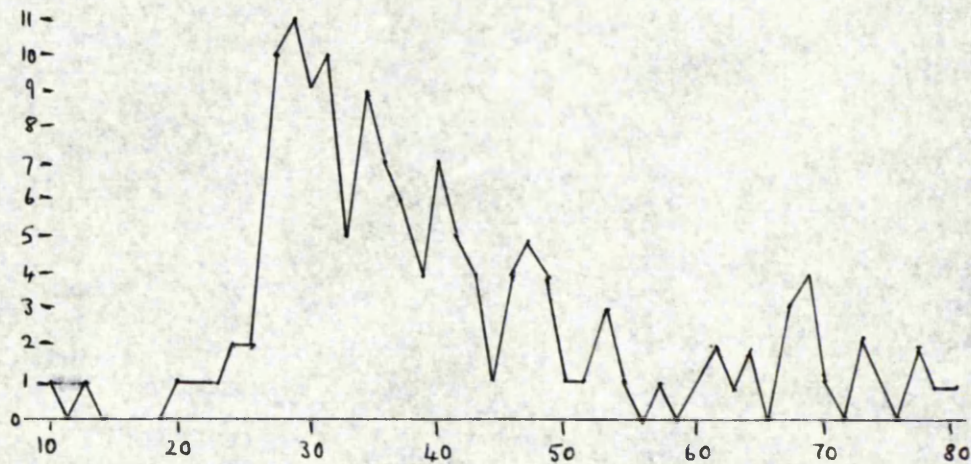


Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. illustrates this by means of a graph showing the number of speakers having each figure. It will be seen that between 53% and 61% there is a distinct trough on the graph. The percentages will not be used to delimit precisely the boundaries of the dialect areas; we have already seen that this is a fruitless task and we shall not return to the earlier criteria to help us delimit boundaries for the dialects that we have set up on the present criterion of percentage correlations. So, for example, "Informant 32 has a figure of 60%; which dialect does he speak?" is not a question that we would answer with "A" or "B"; rather we should refer to his relationship to the cores which are relevant to his position and accord him 'transitional' status.

5.10.1. The cores which we have set up will not necessarily be the areas of greatest homogeneity with the transitional zones the areas of greatest heterogeneity. It was noted in 4.4.2. that the lower percentages of homogeneity are found in the South-West along the Kinyarwanda border, while elsewhere the figures are high. The more heterogeneous areas are not therefore in any transitional zone between the dialects we have set up. From their geographical position one might think that the heterogeneous areas were in a transitional zone between our central Rukiga dialect and Kinyarwanda. In fact, however, there is no continuum of dialects in this direction in the way that there is between Rukiga and Runyankore; Kinyarwanda is quite distinct

from Rukiga in many ways (see 4.2.). Homogeneity may be seen as a function of the amount of intercommunication within an area and it reflects historical circumstances (see 6.2.2.); it does not have to correlate with our dialect divisions.

5.10.2. It would also be wrong to assume that the cores are centres of influence from which, in diachronic perspective, waves of linguistic change spread out. The clustering of similar percentages could reflect the collision of waves originating in a number of other areas rather than the point of origin of waves. Any historical conclusion on the basis of present-day geographical distribution must in any case take into account that speakers are not static while the linguistic movements come and go; peoples move and historical interpretations may relate not only to linguistic changes, but also to changes in the areas occupied by populations. This topic is the substance of Chapter 6.

5.11.1. In the area of the survey we wish, then to set up three dialects. The question of whether they all belong to one language and, if so, whether they constitute all the dialects in that language, cannot finally be settled without more detailed reference to the speech-forms of the surrounding areas. The survey covered the whole of the area of the Bakiga, apart from places of recent immigration; the boundaries were carefully checked (see 1.5.). But we have already dismissed the area of those calling themselves Bakiga as a sure criterion for delimitation of linguistic areas. It may well be, therefore, that we should want to speak of a language covering all or part of the survey area and an additional area. Since in the establishment of our dialect areas we have used a coefficient of similarity to Runyankore, it seems likely that there is such a language which takes in the dialects collectively known as Runyankore. Table 4.3. showed that Areas 1 and 5 of the survey, that is, the North-East and East which we have assigned to one of our dialects, in fact had more in common with Runyankore than with Areas 2 - 4 and 6 - 13 of the survey, which fall into the larger central dialect. The indications are that these dialects and whatever dialects Runyankore consists of belong to a single language. Whether the dialect of the two Batwa informants belongs to this language as well is an open question until it can be closely compared with some

Kinyarwanda dialects to which it may well have greater affinity. For the moment we can only say that the area of the survey contains three dialects, to which, drawing on their happy correlation with tribal areas, we may give the names of 'Ruhororo', 'Rukiga' and 'Rutwa'. This means, of course, that we are now using the term 'Rukiga' for one particular part of what has hitherto been called the Rukiga area, but since that area is definitely not covered by a single dialect and probably not the total domain of a single language, the term is freed for use with reference to one of our dialects, as it happens, the most central of the three.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 5

1. See Seligman (1966).
2. For studies of the Bakiga see Edel (1957), Baxter (1960) and Taylor B.K. (1962). The last two contain parallel studies of other tribes of the Interlacustrine Bantu group.
3. Although they do not consider it a separate language, Ladefoged, Glick and Cripser (1971) recognise an entity of Ruhororo. The earliest official recognition of Ruhororo seems to be in a letter of the District Commissioner in 1920, announcing that any-one who did not know Swahili should use Rukiga or Ruhororo (referred to by Ssebalijja (1972)).
4. Quoted in Stankiewicz (1957).
5. See Hockett (1958), Chrétien (1962), who summarises objections to the method, and Gudschinsky (1956).

6. HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

6.1.1. In 4.3. above it was shown that in many of the items of the survey the form found in the North-East of the Rukiga area occurred also in the South-West, while between these two regions a different form was used. The form found in the North-East and South-West often occurs also in Runyankore while the form used in the centre corresponds to the Kinyarwanda one. These facts are surprising because the Runyankore forms in the South-West are in the part of the Rukiga area farthest from the Runyankore area and the Kinyarwanda forms of the centre are not found along the border of Rukiga with Kinyarwanda. This state of affairs suggests certain hypotheses about past movements of tribes and clans. In the present chapter we shall examine the historical implications of the material of the survey and check them against what extralinguistic evidence is available on the history of the peoples of the area. The notes to this chapter refer mainly to the sources of the extralinguistic evidence. Since this evidence is not very great, it is hoped that the survey may be able to add to what we know about the past in the Rukiga area.

6.2.1. The first hypothesis suggested by the data is that the people in the North-East and South-West who have the same linguistic forms but are geographically separated from each other were once in the same area or at least in contact with each other in adjoining areas. The North-East of the Rukiga area - Area 1 of the survey - is inhabited predominantly by the Bahororo tribe. There is a Bahororo tradition that the kingdom of Mpororo was originally in the lands of the Banyarwanda¹; this may be interpreted as meaning that the Bahororo came from Rwanda. More specifically, the Bagahe, Basyaba and Bazigaba clans of the Bahororo place their origins in Rwanda, while the Bashambo clan say they came from Rwanda via Ankole and some groups of the Baitira clan are said to come from what is now Zaire². Kahaya, a chief of the Bahororo (see below 6.2.6.), is said to have come from Rwanda; the Beenekirenzi, that is, the people of Kirenzi, who was Kahaya's son, call their original homeland 'Bwitira', in form meaning 'the place of the Baitira', but said to be where the Bahunde tribe lived³. An enclave of this tribe is today found in Kigezi (see 1.5.4.) and they

are otherwise in Eastern Zaire. The term 'Rwanda' covers a large area, but there are more detailed references to places of origin. The Baitira clan tell of a place now on the Kigezi-Zaire border, a little to the West of Areas 9 and 10 of the survey and so do the Bainika clan, who are found now amongst the Banyankore in Area 5, the extreme East of the survey area⁴.

6.2.2. This same place on the Kigezi-Zaire border is also considered as their original homeland by the Bakimbiri and Bungura clans⁵, who now inhabit Areas 9 and 10 of the survey, that is, the South-West of the Rukiga area. This homeland is, therefore, only a little to the West of their present position. That they have long been established in the area is borne out by the evidence of the survey. We saw in 4.4. that Areas 9 and 10 had, apart from the Batwa area, the lowest percentages of homogeneity. The German dialect survey of Wrede (1926) showed that the long-settled areas displayed the greatest heterogeneity. Besides having a place of origin in common with the Bahororo, the Bakimbiri are linked with them in other ways according to their traditions. They are 'Bacumbi' of (that is they swear by the same name as, and are accordingly likely to have a common origin with) the Bashambo clan of the Bahororo and the Bahinda clan of Ankole (in both cases the ruling clans). Their founder, Mukimbiri, was a son of Nshamba, the father of the Bashambo, and before the drum 'Murorwa' passed to the Baishekatwa clan of the Bahororo, it was held by Ryangombe of the Bakimbiri⁶. All this evidence of connections between the Bahororo and the Bakimbiri squares entirely with the linguistic evidence of their common speech-forms. These forms are also often found in Area 13 of the survey, where the main clan are the Basigi; they are said to have reached here by crossing Lake Bulera, to the West of their present position⁷, so that their original homeland is not far from that claimed by the Bahororo and Bakimbiri⁸.

6.2.3. Thus far the linguistic agreement between Areas 9, 10 and 13 on the one hand and Area 1 on the other is compatible with the extra-linguistic evidence. We saw in 4.3., however, that the centre of the Rukiga area - Area 7 - has different linguistic forms which are in line with Kinyarwanda. Area 7 is inhabited predominantly by the

Basigi, Bayundo and Bahimba clans which we shall refer to as 'the Bahimba group'. The Basigi, as we have already noted, are also to be found in Area 13, where there are the linguistic forms in line with Runyankore. The Bayundo, like most of the Bakiga clans, consider Rwanda as their place of origin. The Bahimba claim as their original homeland the same place on the present Kigezi-Zaire border claimed by the Bakimbiri and Bungura clans and some of the Bahororo. Here, then, there is a clash between the linguistic and the extra-linguistic evidence, since one would expect people coming from the same area to have the same speech-forms. It is surely reasonable to suppose that they did have the same speech-forms when they were together. Then the question is, which group changed their forms? It is certainly highly unlikely that the Bakimbiri and Bahororo groups made the same changes when they were in different places. Bearing in mind also that the Bakimbiri have moved only a little way from their original homeland, it seems more probable that the Bahimba group have adopted new forms. These forms, as 4.3. showed, are Kinyarwanda ones. This would seem to imply contact with Banyarwanda. The second hypothesis suggested by the data, a more tentative one than the first, is, therefore, that when the Bahimba group moved to their present position, they found there Banyarwanda.

6.2.4. A Banyarwanda presence in the present area of the Bakiga is indicated by some place-names. Thus /soko/⁹ reflects modern Kinyarwanda /isoko/ 'spring': 3.5. gives evidence that [ʃ] is an older form than [s]. The name /muhavúra/ is used for a volcano in the present Kinyarwanda area¹⁰, but also for a hill in the present Rukiga area¹¹; the form means 'guide' in Kinyarwanda. Other names bear witness to conflicts between Banyarwanda and Bakiga which are spoken of to this day: /muiruániro/¹² means 'in the place of fighting' and /igábiro/¹³, nearby, means 'the place of sharing', that is, sharing the spoils of battle. The evidence of these two names, although interesting, is not a conclusive indicator of past inhabitants: the conflicts may have been very recent and a matter of raiding-parties rather than a clash of immigrants and established population.

6.2.5. There is indeed evidence of invaders from Rwanda in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An early rebel against

colonial rule in the Bakiga area, Muhumuza, was a Munyarwanda and those 'through' whom the spirit of Muzaire Kasente, another troublesome colonial subject, spoke used Kinyarwanda¹⁴. At the end of the nineteenth century Rwabugiri of Rwanda raided both Ankole and Kigezi¹⁵, including Eastern parts of the Bakiga area, the lands of the Bahororo¹⁶ and an area around Lake Bunyonyi¹⁷. The Beenerugambagye clan who were ruling the Eastern part of the Bakiga area at the time were, according to one version¹⁸, driven out by the Banyarwanda into Ankole. To test our hypothesis about the Bahimba group, we seek, of course, evidence of Banyarwanda being in Kigezi well before the nineteenth century. The evidence of that century is nonetheless of value because it is more certain than evidence of earlier centuries and because what actually happened in the nineteenth century can be seen as a possibility in earlier centuries. Furthermore, bearing in mind the high degree of centralised organisation in Rwanda (see 1.3.1.), it is not unlikely that attacks on Kigezi from Rwanda in the nineteenth century bear witness to a territorial claim on Kigezi by the rulers of Rwanda based upon an earlier occupation. This theory implies, of course, that the Banyarwanda had at some time prior to their nineteenth century attacks been ousted from Kigezi by another tribe.

6.2.6. Such an ousting may perhaps have been accomplished by the Bahororo. The kingdom of Mpororo enjoyed a period of expansion at some time in the eighteenth century. Some accounts begin this period in the reign of Kamurari, perhaps at the end of the seventeenth century¹⁹; others begin it with Kahaya²⁰. The exact extent of the Bahororo expansion is also unclear: one account has it that it covered the whole of Kigezi apart from the present Bufumbira County in the South-West²¹; Kahaya's second name, Rutindangyezi, may be derived from a crossing of Lake Bunyonyi, since the second element means 'lake' and the first 'bridge', and he is said to have lived near the lake shortly before his death²². Most important for our present enquiry is the tradition that Kahaya fought against Rujugira of Rwanda²³, for it suggests that the Bahororo expansion was challenged by the Banyarwanda. There are various accounts about what happened after Kahaya's death: one version is that the different parts of Mpororo accepted the overlordship of either Rwanda or Ankole²⁴; another, that

the kingdom was split between local governors²⁵, amongst whom in the Bakiga area were Nyakajunga, who had been a client of Kahaya, and Rugambagye. Lake Bunyonyi is said to have been the site of the installation of subsequent Bashambo (i.e. Bahororo) rulers, although a Mushambo who is still remembered in stories, Bigyeyo, ruled from Maziba (the place of my informant 70). He must have died around 1845, after which Bashambo rule in the area collapsed²⁶. This brings us towards the time when attacks on Kigezi from Rwanda are recorded. It seems clear that Rwanda was free to expand when Mpororo contracted, but, of course, it may be that Rwanda filled the vacuum created by the Bahororo withdrawal without ever previously having occupied Kigezi.

6.2.7. We must accordingly seek evidence of a Banyarwanda presence in Kigezi before the nineteenth century attacks. Such evidence may be sought in the traditions of the Banyarwanda, which are well documented. There is a story that all lands from Rwanda to the Congo-Nile watershed were annexed by Gahima, who ruled Rwanda in the sixteenth century²⁷. Ruganzu is said to have led an expedition northwards from Rwanda at the end of that century, but was repulsed by the Bakiga²⁸. Nyamuheshera, who ruled Rwanda in the middle of the seventeenth century, is said to have pushed the Bashambo back from Rwanda to Ndorwa²⁹, to have tried unsuccessfully to conquer the Bakiga³⁰, even to have extended his kingdom as far as Lake Edward (where lives my northernmost informant, no. 6)³¹. Gisanura and Mazimpaka, rulers of Rwanda who may be dated around the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, also led forays northwards. After them Rujugira did the same and it is more specifically believed that he fought the Bazigaba clan, although since they looked after his cattle, they may have had a subservient status in Rwanda rather than in Kigezi³². When we reach the reign of Ndabarasa in the second half of the eighteenth century, the accounts of Banyarwanda activities in Kigezi multiply. It is said that he tried to conquer the Bakiga³³, that he fought against the Bashambo both before and during his rule and, most specifically of all, that he fought a battle at a place called Kahama, near Kabale³⁴. Banyarwanda tradition has it that he went as far as Lake Albert, many miles beyond

the Bakiga area³⁵. He is said to have raided the herds of the Bahima (Banyankore), so it is possible that his route to Lake Albert was through Ankole rather than Kigezi, unless, of course, the Bahima were grazing their cattle in Kigezi at that time. We have already seen (above, 6.2.6.) how the kingdom of Mpororo expanded in the eighteenth century. By the time Ndabarasa of Rwanda was on the move, Kahaya of Mpororo must have been dead, because Banyankore traditions put the former's invasions in the reign of the Ankole king Kahaya I and this Kahaya I inherited at least a part of Mpororo through a series of marriages and the disinheritance of the sons of Kahaya of Mpororo³⁶. We have seen, though, that Bashambo rule in Kigezi did not collapse immediately after Kahaya's death. The Bashambo are of Bahima stock (that is to say, they fall into the ruling pastoralist group found in the surrounding kingdoms: see 5.4.1), so it is possible that these Bashambo were the Bahima troubled by Ndabarasa, which allows of the possibility that he passed through Kigezi. The name of Rugambagye was mentioned in 6.2.6. The Beenerugambagye, that is, the people of Rugambagye, are said to have suffered raids from Rwanda while they were in Kigezi at this time³⁷. There is a well at Kamwezi (a little to the south-west of my informant 5) which is said to have been a meeting-place of Ndabarasa and Kahaya I of Ankole³⁸. It is situated between their territories and is a further piece of evidence that Ndabarasa passed through Kigezi. All these pieces of evidence help to give credence to the one outstanding claim that Ndabarasa fought a battle near Kabale. After him Gahindiro, whose reign brings us into the nineteenth century, is said to have tried, but again unsuccessfully, to conquer the Bakiga³⁹. There is, therefore, a good deal of evidence that the Banyarwanda were active at various times in Kigezi and this evidence is at one with our finding that the Bahimba group of clans in the centre of Kigezi have Kinyarwanda linguistic forms.

6.2.8. It is, however, unlikely that Banyarwanda attacks from time to time or Banyarwanda passing through en route for somewhere else would have made much permanent impact on the language of the people of Kigezi. We must, therefore, seek further evidence. In the North-West of the present Rukiga area there were some small kingdoms, the

two main ones being Kayonza (my informant 106) and Butumbi, the latter now being filled with recent immigrants from further South, although two small groups of Banyabutumbi remain (my informants 6 and 47). Both of these kingdoms place the origin of their founders, Karengye and Hihi respectively, in Rwanda in the sixteenth century⁴⁰. (The Bakongwe clan hold that the Kayonza dynasty goes back to a brother or son of their founder, Kakongwe, and that the Kayonza people migrated from Kishanje⁴¹, but this place is near the border of the present-day Rukiga and Kinyarwanda areas - my informant 119 is there - so the Rwanda link is not excluded by the Bakongwe beliefs.) Kayonza has a genealogy of thirteen rulers down to the arrival of the first Europeans and Butumbi has fourteen down to the death in 1886 of a ruler called Mishereko⁴². If we take the average reign as 24 years⁴³, then Kayonza must have been founded about 1589 and Butumbi about 1550. The same figure applied independently to the genealogy of Rwanda gives dates of 1552-1576 for Gahima, the monarch referred to above in 6.2.7. as having annexed lands up to the Congo-Nile watershed, that is, to the North and West of Rwanda, a direction which takes in Kayonza and Butumbi. There is, therefore, agreement between two independent sources that people from Rwanda were in Kigezi in the sixteenth century.

6.2.9. After the reign of Gahima there was a war of succession⁴⁴, during which Kayonza and Butumbi might have become autonomous. When there were succession disputes in Kayonza, however, the Banyarwanda intervened⁴⁵; more than one contender in such disputes sought help for his cause in Rwanda and at least one who had been arrested escaped to Rwanda and made a successful come-back from there. It is said that he travelled to Rwanda via Bukimbiri, which is in the Rukiga area (my informant 135), but, as the name reveals, a place of the Bakimbiri clan, not of the Bahimba group. It is nonetheless useful to have this testimony that the travelling between Rwanda and Kayonza passed through the Rukiga area, even though it is fairly obvious from the map that it must have done so unless a very wide detour was made. The rulers of Kayonza took ivory to those of Rwanda through many generations down to Muginga, who was ruling when the first Europeans arrived⁴⁶. The death of Mishereko of Butumbi, mentioned above (in 6.2.8.) occurred while he was in Rwanda, where he had gone to pay homage to the king of

that country⁴⁷, the Rwabugiri referred to in 6.2.5. It is surely unlikely that Kayonza and Butumbi could have been subject to Rwanda unless the intervening land was too. The history of Kayonza and Butumbi provides indirect confirmation of Banyarwanda activity in the area of the Bakiga, which is that intervening land.

6.2.10. It might be asked, if Kayonza and Butumbi were founded by rulers from Rwanda, why the people of Kayonza and the two remnant communities of Butumbi do not today speak some form of Kinyarwanda. First of all, it may be pointed out that the fact that the founders Karengye and Hini came from Rwanda does not mean that their subjects did. Secondly, it is a common pattern amongst the interlacustrine Bantu for conquerors to adopt the language of the conquered, as, for example, the Hamitic Bahima in Ankole adopted the Bantu language of the Bairu whom they subjected. The three informants from Kayonza and Butumbi fall into Area 2 of the survey, which in general has Runyankore rather than Kinyarwanda forms (see 4.3.). This is perhaps attributable to influence from the kingdom of Mpororo. Rwengabo, a ruler of Kayonza in the eighteenth century, married a girl from Mpororo⁴⁸. In the nineteenth century Muhozi of Mpororo tried to exact tribute from Kayonza, which was known to have iron-ore deposits, and entered a succession dispute there on the side of one of the candidates. It was Muhozi who arrested the contender mentioned above (in 6.2.9.). Butumbi paid tribute to him and was regarded by him as his territory. That it was not part of Mpororo for any length of time is evidenced by the fact that at the end of the nineteenth century Makobore of Mpororo attacked Butumbi, where the people were said to speak 'a different dialect'; he also raided Kayonza six times, looking for ivory, and went as far as present-day Zaire⁴⁹. Later blood brotherhood was established between one of Makobore's sons and a son of Muginga of Kayonza and when Muginga was attacked by Belgians, he sought refuge with Makobore. The earlier battles between Makobore and Muginga and between Makobore and Muginga's predecessor, Nyakarasi, seem then to have been forgotten. Muginga's friends included people from as far away as Ankole⁵⁰. Thus there is considerable evidence of contacts between Mpororo on the one hand and Kayonza and Butumbi on the other. This is in keeping with their having many linguistic

forms in common today and those forms in no way disprove the connections described above between Kayonza and Butumbi and Rwanda.

6.2.11. There is one further set of events which adds weight to theories about Banyarwanda moving northwards. This is the Banyoro invasions from the North, which are well substantiated by the agreement of independent accounts in the traditions of the Banyarwanda, Banyankore and Bahaya (in what is now Tanzania). One series of these invasions took place in the first half of the sixteenth century (associated with the reign of Ntare I in Ankole⁵¹ and the reigns of Mukobanya and Mutabaazi in Rwanda⁵²); another occurred in the first part of the eighteenth century (associated with Ntare IV in Ankole). Since on both occasions the Banyoro attacked both Ankole and Rwanda, they presumably reached the latter via the former rather than via Kigezi. When the Banyoro retreated, however, Rwanda was free to expand in the general direction from which they had come, that is, to the North. To the immediate North-East of Rwanda lay Ankole, an organised kingdom; expansion there would have met with correspondingly organised resistance. Expansion due North, on the other hand, into the lands of the Bakiga, would not have encountered an organised kingdom and would accordingly have met with less formidable resistance. In 6.2.8. the dates 1550 and 1589 were suggested for the beginnings of Kayonza and Butumbi under rulers from Rwanda; this would be just after the first series of Banyoro invasions. The activities of Ndabarasa, in the second half of the eighteenth century (above, 6.2.7.) are after the second series of Banyoro invasions; the fact that he reached Lake Albert, in the homelands of the Banyoro, is perhaps an indication that he was actually pursuing them. Be that as it may, the retreat of the Banyoro after pressure southwards is complemented by Banyarwanda expansion northwards and helps to substantiate it.

6.3.1. The extra-linguistic evidence leaves little doubt, then, that Banyarwanda were present in the Rukiga area at least from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. No evidence is available for any period before this⁵³. The evidence we have from the sixteenth century onwards tells of Banyarwanda passing through Kigezi rather than actually settling in it. And yet it is hard to understand why Bakiga clans such as the Bazigaba and Bagina should pay homage to the king of

Rwanda⁵⁴ or why at the beginning of this century the Munyarwanda woman, Muhumuza, should command such unquestioning support from Bakiga⁵⁵, if the Banyarwanda were just transitory visitors in Kigezi. There is a strong presumption that Banyarwanda were once actually living where today only the Bakiga live. It is this presumption which the linguistic evidence of the survey given in 4.3. surely confirms. The Bahimba group of Bakiga, who moved into the centre of Kigezi from their original homelands further West, must have adopted the Kinyarwanda forms which are found in their speech as a result of their contact with the Banyarwanda whom they encountered. This contact must have been deeper than any contact with visitors for the linguistic effects to be permanent. It is, therefore, suggested, that this survey provides evidence of past Banyarwanda settlement in the present Bakiga area.

6.3.2. The obvious question about where these Banyarwanda went to has an equally obvious answer: back to Rwanda. Rwabugiri, to whom we have referred more than once, extended Rwandan territory up to Mpororo at the end of the nineteenth century, but he afterwards abandoned all Bakiga areas except those which are in present-day Rwanda⁵⁶ (represented in the survey by informants 95, 96 and 97). Any Banyarwanda who were still in central Kigezi at the time of his withdrawal must have withdrawn either with him or at the time of the succession dispute which followed his death in 1895, for Rwandan power was weakened and they could fear harm from Bakiga who no longer felt restrained by the possible appearance of the Rwanda king's warriors. The question of when the Banyarwanda began to settle in central Kigezi is more difficult. Our theory is that the Bahimba group of Bakiga moved to central Kigezi and adopted linguistic forms from Banyarwanda who were living there. This clearly implies that the two tribes were living together in the same area for a time. Since the Banyarwanda have now withdrawn, the most likely sequence of events is that they were in the area first, the Bakiga came later beginning with a few, but increasing in number more and more until either there were simply too many people in the area for comfort (and the overpopulation of Kigezi is very marked today⁵⁷: see 1.2.1.) or the Bakiga outnumbered the Banyarwanda so greatly that the latter

felt insecure and withdrew to where their fellow-tribesmen were still predominant. In short, the Bakiga forced out the Banyarwanda. That means that the Banyarwanda were in central Kigezi before the Bakiga arrived. The present-day Bakiga tend to the view (when pressed) that Kigezi was uninhabited forest frequented only by wild animals before the first Bakiga arrived⁵⁸. If other evidence suggests that there were Banyarwanda in the area at the time, then the current Bakiga belief can surely be discounted as the product of a desire to demonstrate that Kigezi rightfully belongs to the Bakiga and has not been usurped from another tribe. The conclusion from the linguistic evidence of the survey is that there were Banyarwanda in central Kigezi before the Bakiga arrived there.

6.3.3. Before the Bahimba adopted the Kinyarwanda linguistic forms which they now use, their language must have been the same as that of the Bakimbiri and Bahororo who claim the same original homelands. The forms now common to the South-West and the North-East of the Rukiga area are the direct descendants of those used in that homeland. Then the Bahororo migrated to the North-East and so became separated from the Bakimbiri, who moved only a little to the East. The Bahimba moved into the gap between the Bahororo and the Bakimbiri and in that gap found Banyarwanda. The language of the Banyarwanda influenced the language of the Bahimba, which now lies between the two areas of the language held in common by the Bakimbiri to their South-West and the Bahororo to their North-East.

NOTES ON CHAPTER 6

1. My own reseaches: conversations with Bahororo.
2. Baitwababo (1972a).
3. My own researches: conversations with Bahororo.
4. Ngologoza (1967). He is referring to the Bakiga rather than the Banyankore or Bahororo, but it is reasonable to suppose that the Baitira amongst the Bahororo have a common origin with the Baitira amongst the Bakiga and similarly for the two groups of Bainika.
5. Ngologoza (1967).
6. Geraud (1972a, 1972b).
7. Ngologoza (1967).
8. The date of the migrations from the original homelands is difficult to ascertain. Ngologoza (1967) says that there were Bakiga in Kigezi before 1500, while Denoon (1972a) writes 'before 1700'. Further dates will emerge in the following.
9. Grid reference SP 7268.
10. Grid reference QJ 9847.
11. Grid reference SP 7959.
12. Grid reference RJ 1068.
13. Grid reference RJ 1067.
14. Ngologoza (1967).

15. Denoon (1972a, 1972b), Morris (1962), Rwandusya (1972a), Vansina (1962), Baitwababo (1972b).
16. Geraud (1972a), Rwabihigi (1972).
17. Karwemera (1972).
18. Morris (1955).
19. Morris (1955), Baitwababo (1972b).
20. Ngologoza (1967) and my own researches: conversations with Bahororo.
21. Morris (1955), Denoon (1972a), Geraud (1972a).
22. Geraud (1972a). Baitwababo (1972b) says that Kahaya's kingdom included present-day Bakiga lands and that he went to Lake Bunyonyi.
23. Geraud (1972a), Denoon (1972a).
24. Morris (1955).
25. Denoon (1972a).
26. Geraud (1972a).
27. Vansina (1962), who gives a bibliography of Banyarwanda traditions.
28. Geraud (1972a).
29. Geraud (1972a). The term 'Ndorwa', heard in many accounts of historical events, is unfortunately vague. It is now used as the name of a county in South-East Kigezi, but there was a Kingdom of Ndurwa in present-day Rwanda.

30. Rwabihigi (1972).
31. Vansina (1962).
32. Geraud (1972a).
33. Rwabihigi (1972).
34. Geraud (1972a).
35. Vansina (1962).
36. Morris (1962).
37. Morris (1955).
38. White and Nkurunziza (1971).
39. Rwabihigi (1972).
40. Baitwababo (1972b), Denoon (1972a), Ngologoza (1967),
Rwankwenda (1972).
41. Rwabihigi (1972).
42. Ngologoza (1967).
43. This figure is argued for Rwanda by Vansina (1962).
44. Vansina (1962).
45. Denoon (1972a).
46. Rwankwenda (1972).
47. Ngologoza (1967).
48. Baitwababo (1972c).

49. Baitwababo (1972b).
50. Rwankwenda (1972).
51. Morris (1962).
52. Vansina (1962).
53. Rwandusya (1972a) gives some dates well before this for Bufumbira County (the extreme South-West), but they must be treated with scepticism. Perhaps the only sure interpretation of them is 'before 1500'.
54. Ngologoza (1962).
55. See, for example, the account of Ssebalijja (1972), who had to suppress her rebellion. For another account by a contemporary, see Jack (1914).
56. Rwabihigi (1972).
57. Jack (1914) reported a sparse population, but he arrived shortly after the famine 'Rwaramba' (see Chapter 1, note 19) and the terrorising raids of the Batwa pygmies, two exceptional events which must suddenly and drastically have reduced the population of Kigezi.
58. My own researches: conversations with Bakiga.

APPENDIX A: The Items in English

No.	Item	Point at issue	See
1.	Hope	[s] v. [ts]	3.5.
2.	Let them arrive	[ke] v. [tʃe]	3.2.
3.	Let him cultivate	[ge] v. [dʒe]	3.2.
4.	Dog	[ga] v. [bwa]	3.7.
5.	(Said before posing a riddle)	[s] v. [ʃ]	3.5.
6.	They began	[i] v. [ɔ]	3.9.
7.	These are the ones (Class 8)	[j] fricative v. semi-vowel	3.7.
8.	(Food made from millet)	[wei] v. [ɔi]	3.7.; 3.9.
9.	He steals	[ai] v. [ei]	3.9.
10.	Die	[fa] v. [fwa] v. [fka]	3.7.
11.	I saw it (Class 9)	[dʒi] v. [ji]	3.2.
12.	Peas	[s] v. [ʃ]	3.5.
13.	Counties	[s] v. [ʃ]	3.5.
14.	I speak	Present habitual tense	3.14.
15.	I am speaking	Present actual tense	3.14.
16.	I went	Yesterday past tense	3.16.
17.	He is still speaking	'Still' tense	3.14.
18.	They died (Class 10)	Far past tense	3.16.
19.	I don't want	Negative present actual	3.19.
20.	Good (Class 10)	Class 10 Adjectival prefix	3.20.
21.	They died (Class 10)	Class 10 Verbal prefix	3.20.
22.	Houses	Class 6 v. Class 10	3.20.
23.	Don't forget	Negative imperative	3.19; 3.50.
24.	Sweet potatoes		3.24.
25.	Porcupine		3.25.
26.	But		3.26.
27.	Mushrooms		3.27.
28.	Hill		3.28.
29.	I ^{sold} bought it (Near past) (Class 7)		3.29.
30.	I caught fish (Near past)		3.30.
31.	I shaved my hair (Near past)		3.30.
32.	Liver		3.32.

33. Old man		3.34.
34. Yesterday		3.34.
35. Thank you		3.55.
36. Where is it? (Class 7)	Where?	3.36.
37. Where is it? (Class 7)	'be' before 'where?'	3.36.
38. Why?		3.38.
39. Tomorrow		3.34.
40. It is so.		3.41.
41. Isn't it so?		3.41.
42. That man (not seen)		3.41.
43. Girl		3.43.
44. Beans		3.44.
45. Market		3.46.
46. Lion		3.46.
47. Hoe		3.60.
48. How are things? (Class 6)		3.48.
49. Last week		3.49.
50. I slept (Near past)		3.50.
51. I showed him (Near past)		3.51.
52. I finished (Near past)		3.52.
53. Far side		3.60.
54. The Bakiga of old		3.34.
55. Box		3.55.
56. Brewer (of beer)		3.56.
57. Broom		3.57.
58. Bull		3.58.
59. Calf		3.58.
60. Cricket		3.60.
61. Dung		3.58.
62. The fourth month		3.55.
63. Nest		3.63.
64. Paddle		3.64.
65. Owl		3.65.
66. Potter		3.56.
67. White ant		3.60.
68. Wart		3.60.
69. I gave it to him (Near past) (Class 7)		3.51.

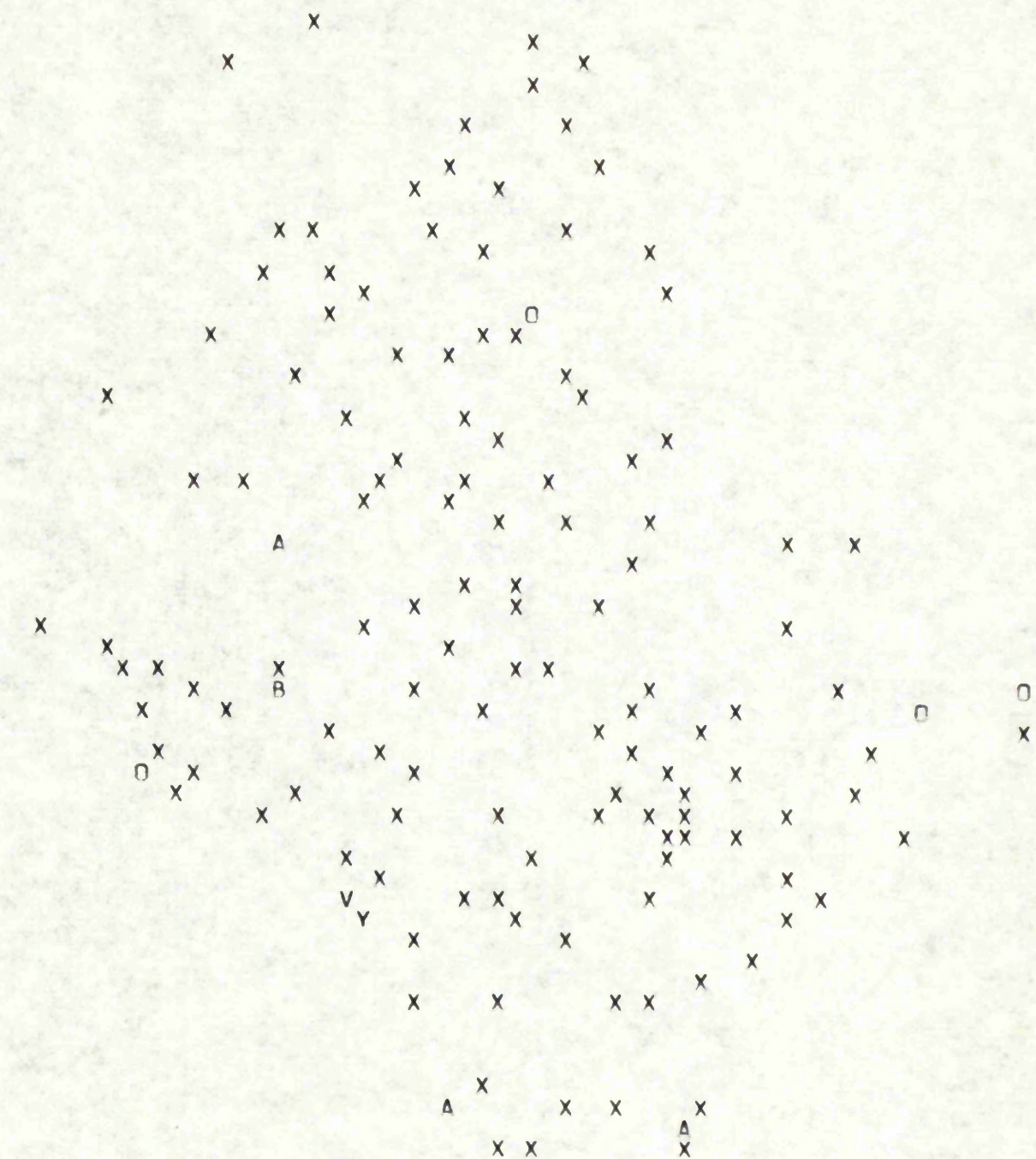
70. Sixty	Numbers 60, 70, 80, 90	3.70.
71. One hundred		3.70.
72. Six hundred	Numbers 600, 700, 800, 900	3.70
73. I went	Modified root from [-nda]	3.16.
74. He left off (Near past)	Reduplication in [-reCera]	3.16.
75. Good (Class 10)	Vestigial Ganda law: [n] v. [nd]	3.20.

APPENDIX B

Maps of the Items.

Throughout the maps

I = no data



MAP 1

'Hope'

[s] v. [ts]

O [amatsko]

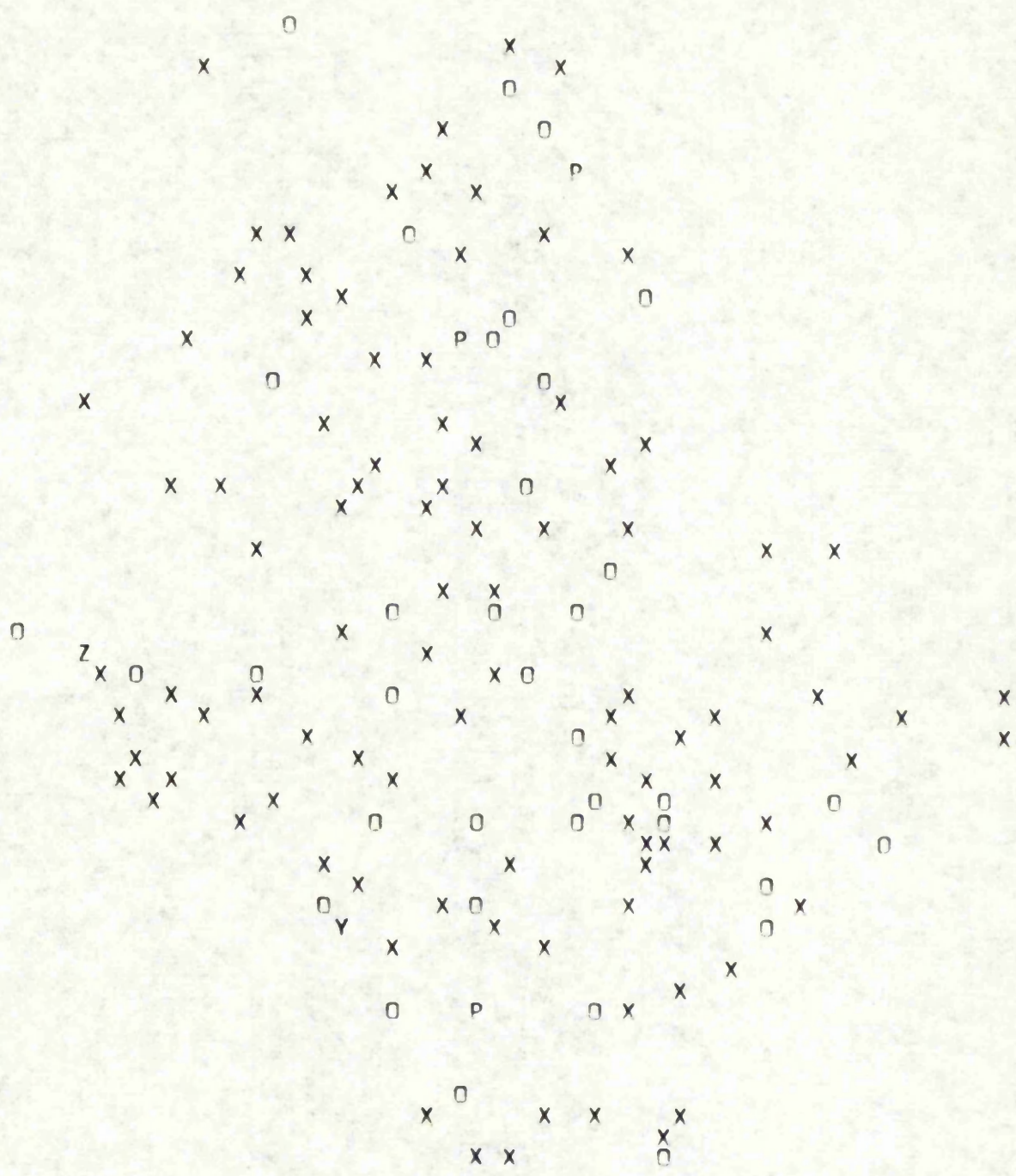
X [amásko]

Y [amásko]

A [amasiko]

B [amasíko]

V [amat(iko)]



MAP 2
'let them arrive' [ke] v. [tʃe]

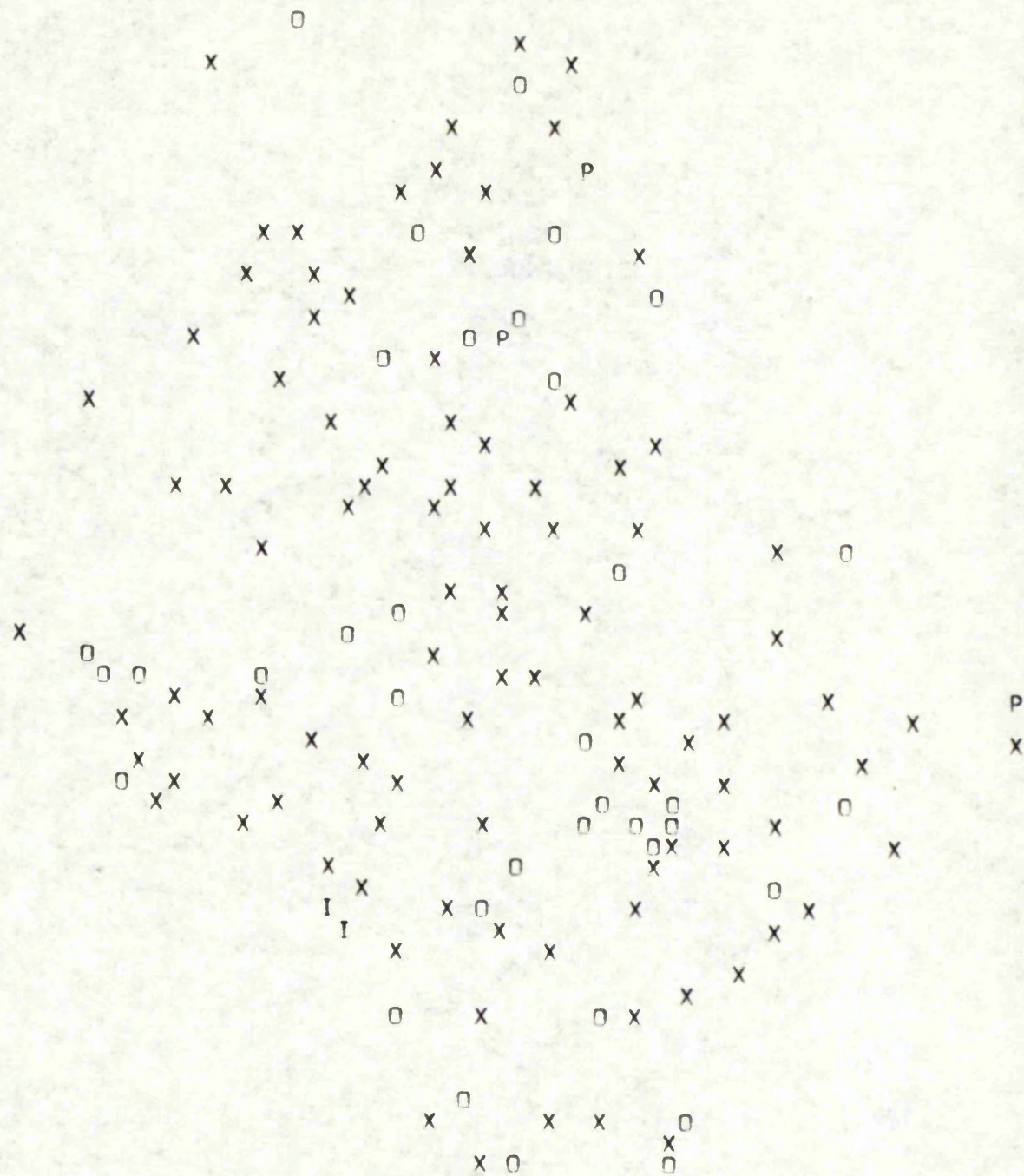
X [bahíke]

O [bahítʃe]

Y [baʃíke]

P [bahítʃe]

Z [rekabahikáha]



MAP 3

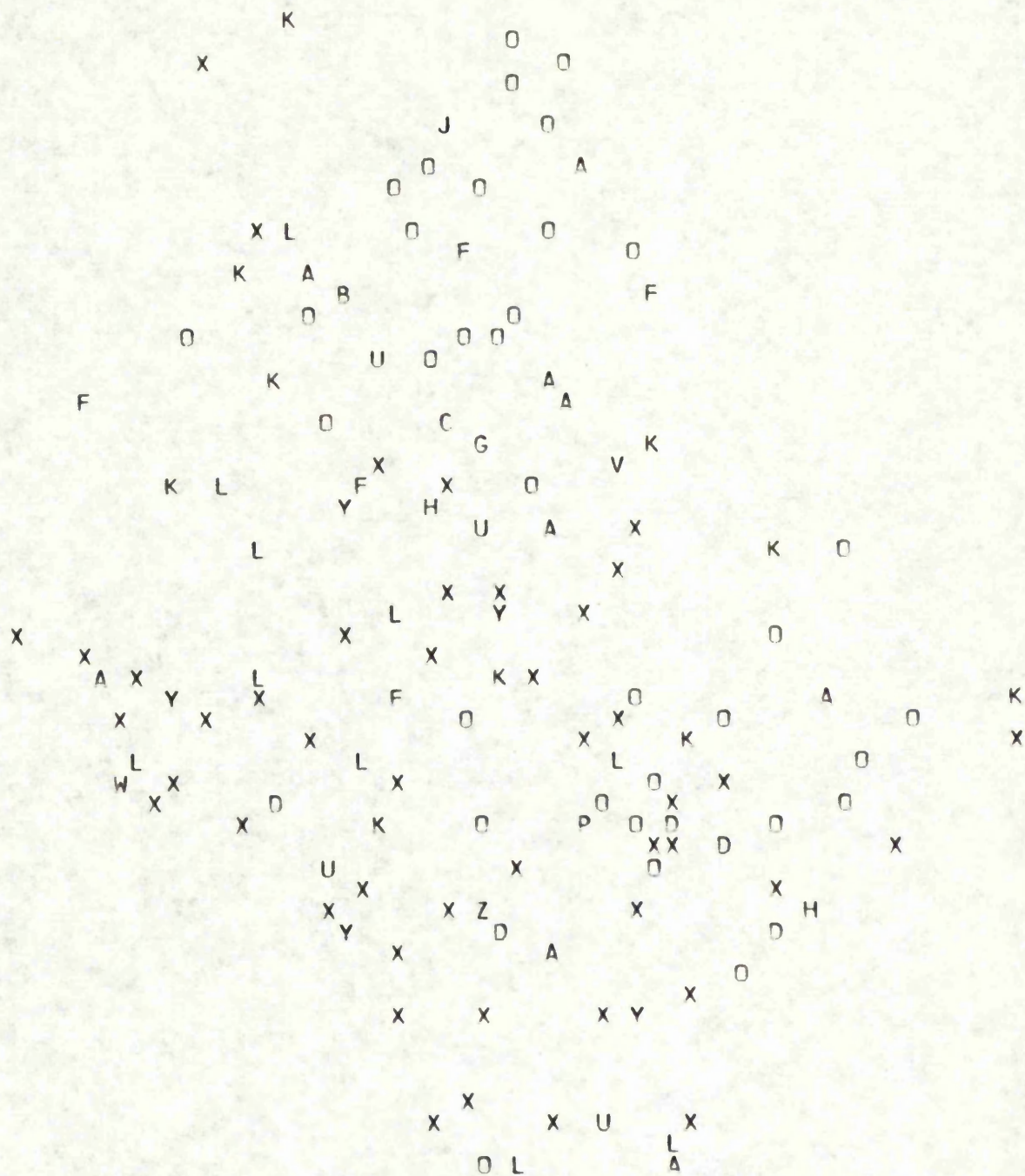
'Let him cultivate'

[ge] v. [dʒe]

x [ahí:ŋge]

o [ahí:ndze]

p [ahí:ndʒe]



MAP, 4
'Dog'

[ga] v. [bwa]

X [ɛ̃:mga] F [ɛ̃:mga]

O [ɛ̃:mbwa] U [ɛ̃:mḡa]

Y [ɛ̃:mḡa] G [ɛ̃:mga]

P [ɛ̃:mbwa] V [ɛ̃:mḡa]

Z [ɛ̃:mḡḡa] H [ɛ̃:mga]

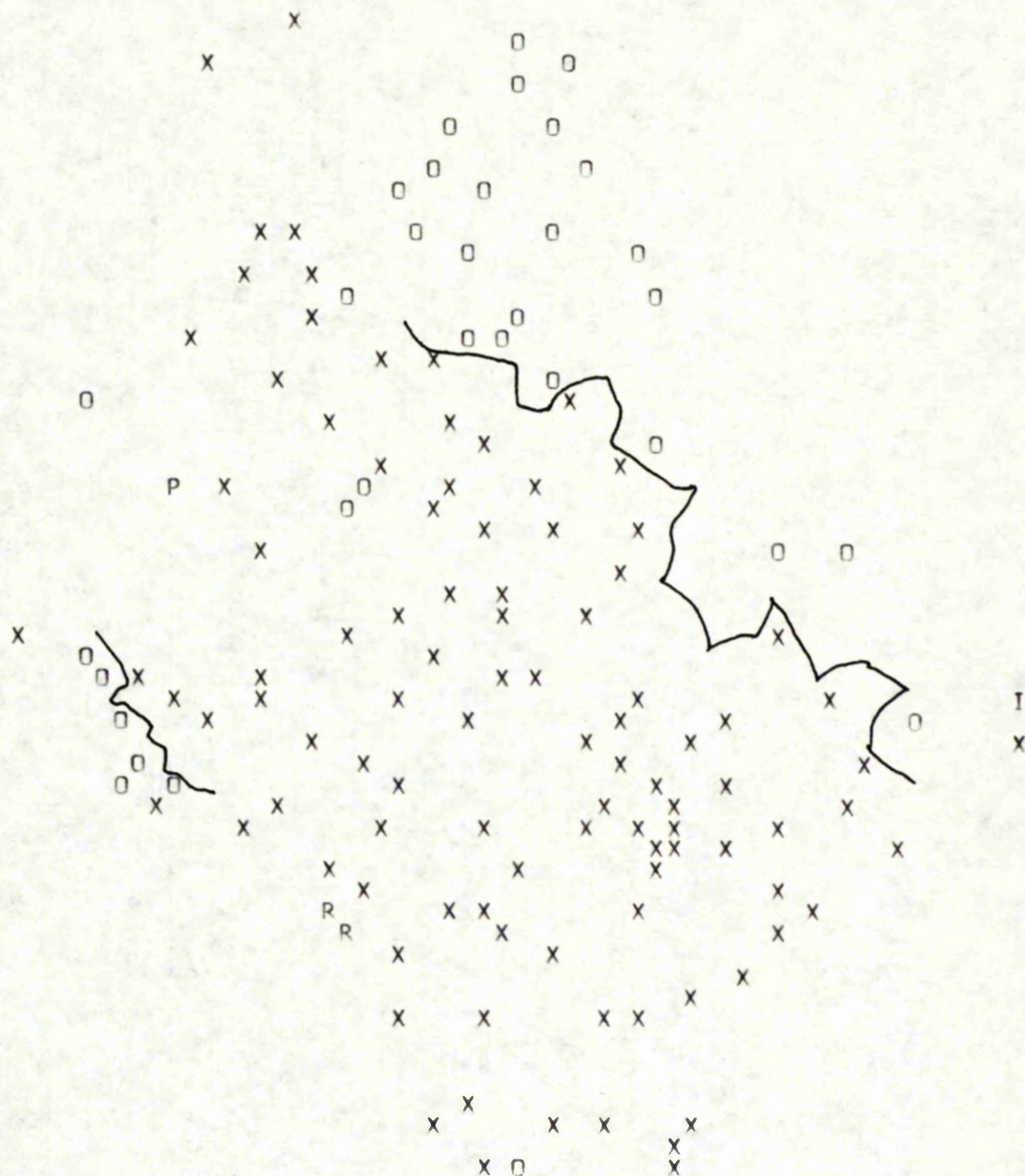
W [ɛ̃:mga]

A [ɛ̃:mḡa] J [ɛ̃:mḡa]

B [ɛ̃:mḡa] K [ɛ̃:mḡa]

C [ɛ̃:mḡa] L [ɛ̃:mḡa]

D [ɛ̃:mḡa]



MAP 5

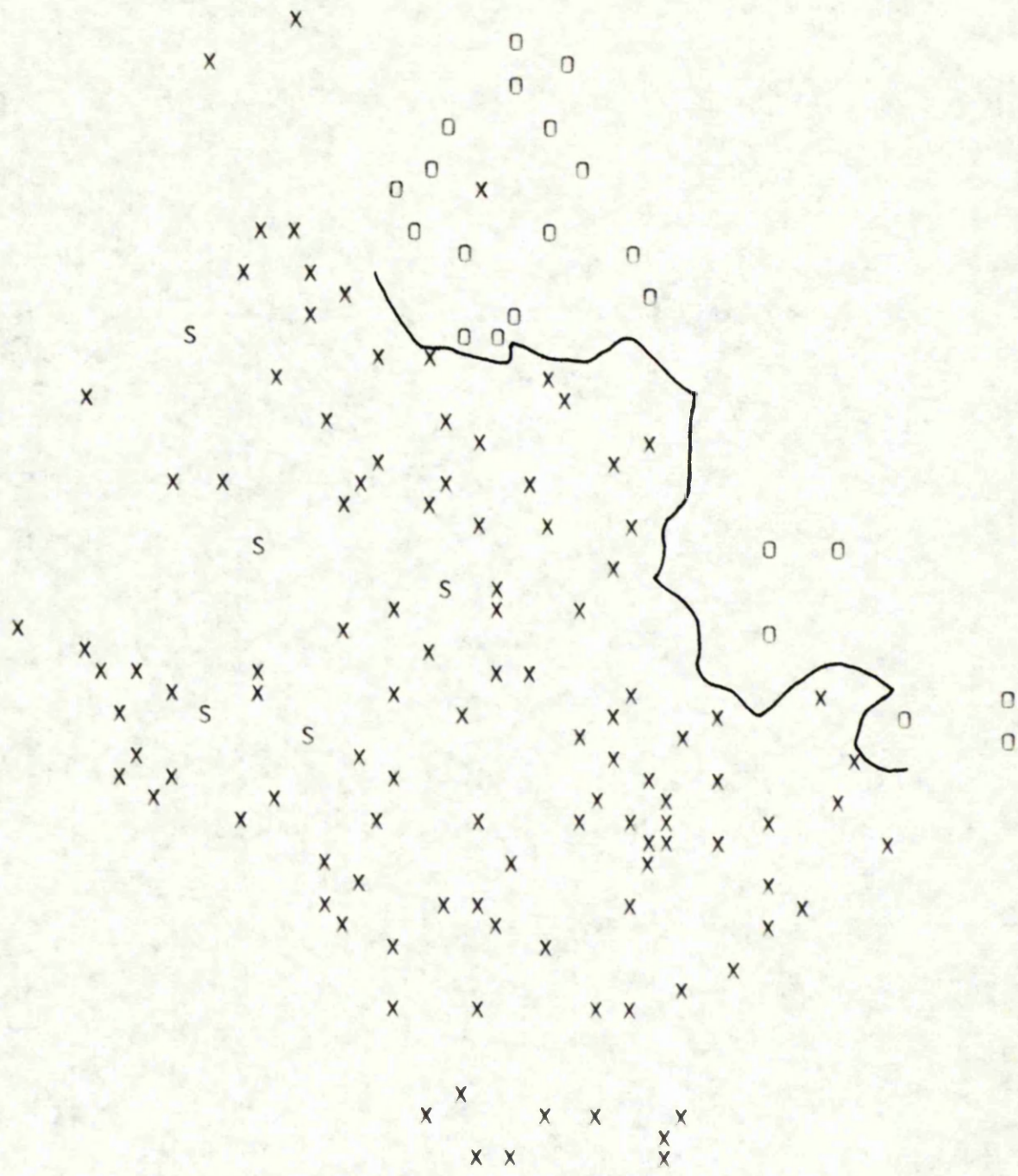
(Said before posing a riddle) [s] v. [ʃ]

X [sakusâ:ku]

O [ʃakuʃâ:ku]

P [ʃakwaʃâ:kwa]

R [ʃakweʃâ:kwe]



MAP 6

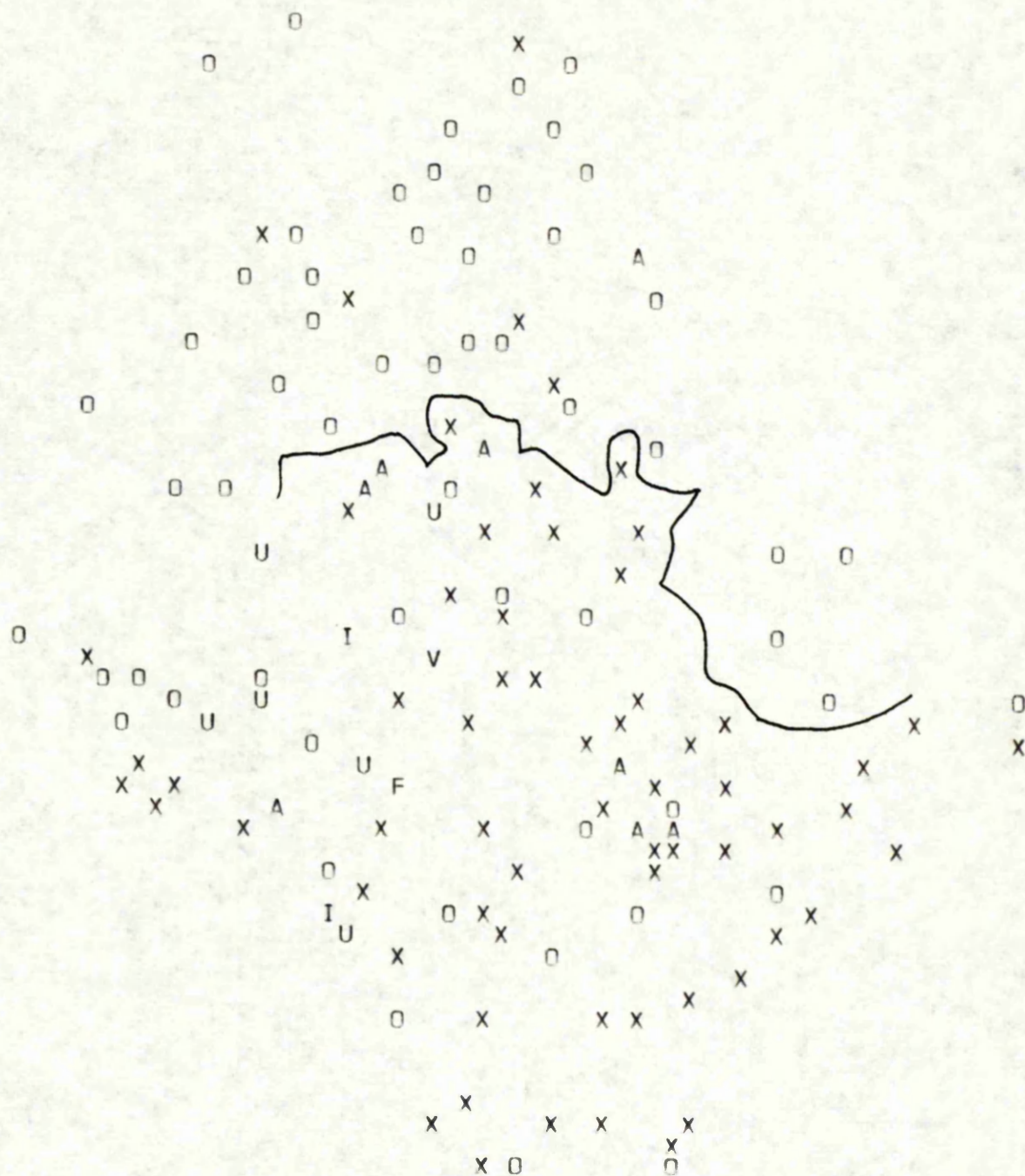
'They began'

[i]v. [ə]

x [batâ:ndika]

o [batâ:ndaka]

s [batandika]



MAP 7

'These are the ones' (Class 8) [j]: fricative

v. semi-vowel

X [nɪbjɛ̃:bi]: [j] voiced fricative

A [nɪbjɛ̃:bi]: [j] devoiced fricative

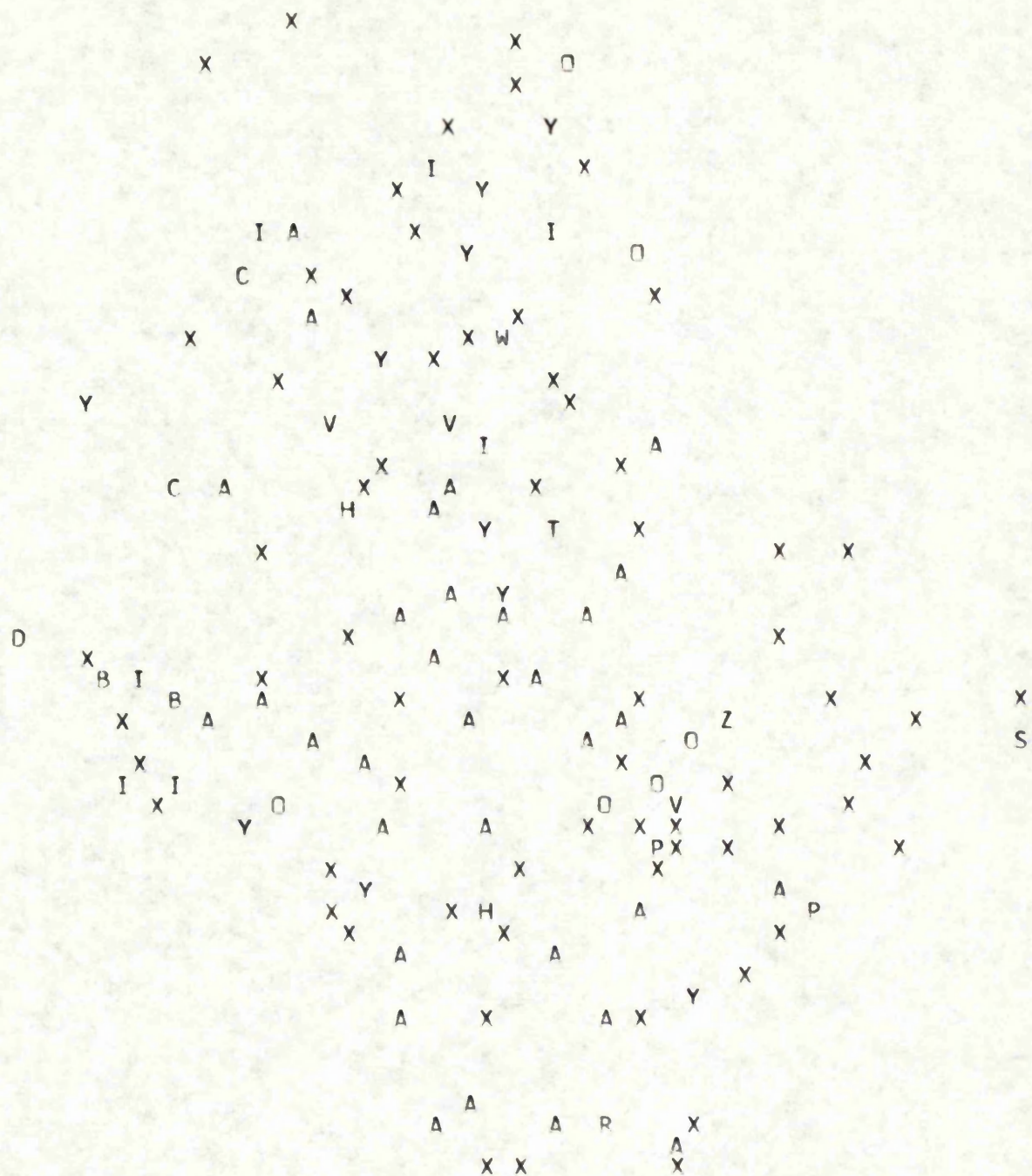
U [nɪrjɛ̃:bi]: [j] semi-vowel

V [nɪrjɛ̃:bi]: [j] voiced fricative

F [ndʒɛ̃bi]

O [nɪbjɛ̃:bi]:

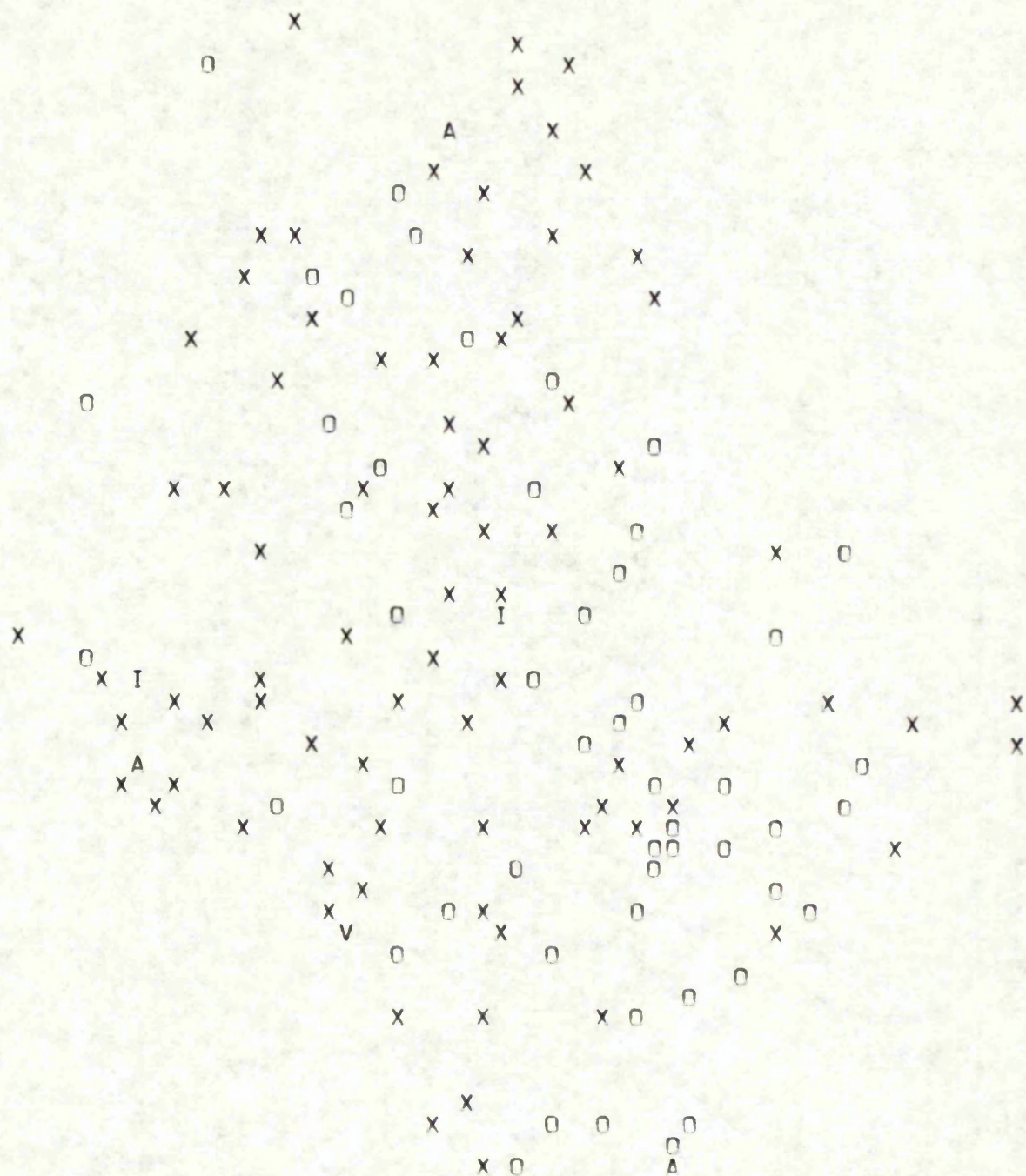
[j] semi-vowel



MAP 8

(Food made from millet) [wei]v. [si]

X [endwéire]	A [endgéire]	O [endó:ire]	V [enduére]
Y [endwíre]	B [endǵéire]	P [endó:îre]	W [endwei:re]
Z [endwíre]	C [endǵéire]	R [endowíre]	
	D [enbgéire]	S [endó:ere]	
		T [endó:ere]	
	H [endóro]		



MAP 9
'He steals'

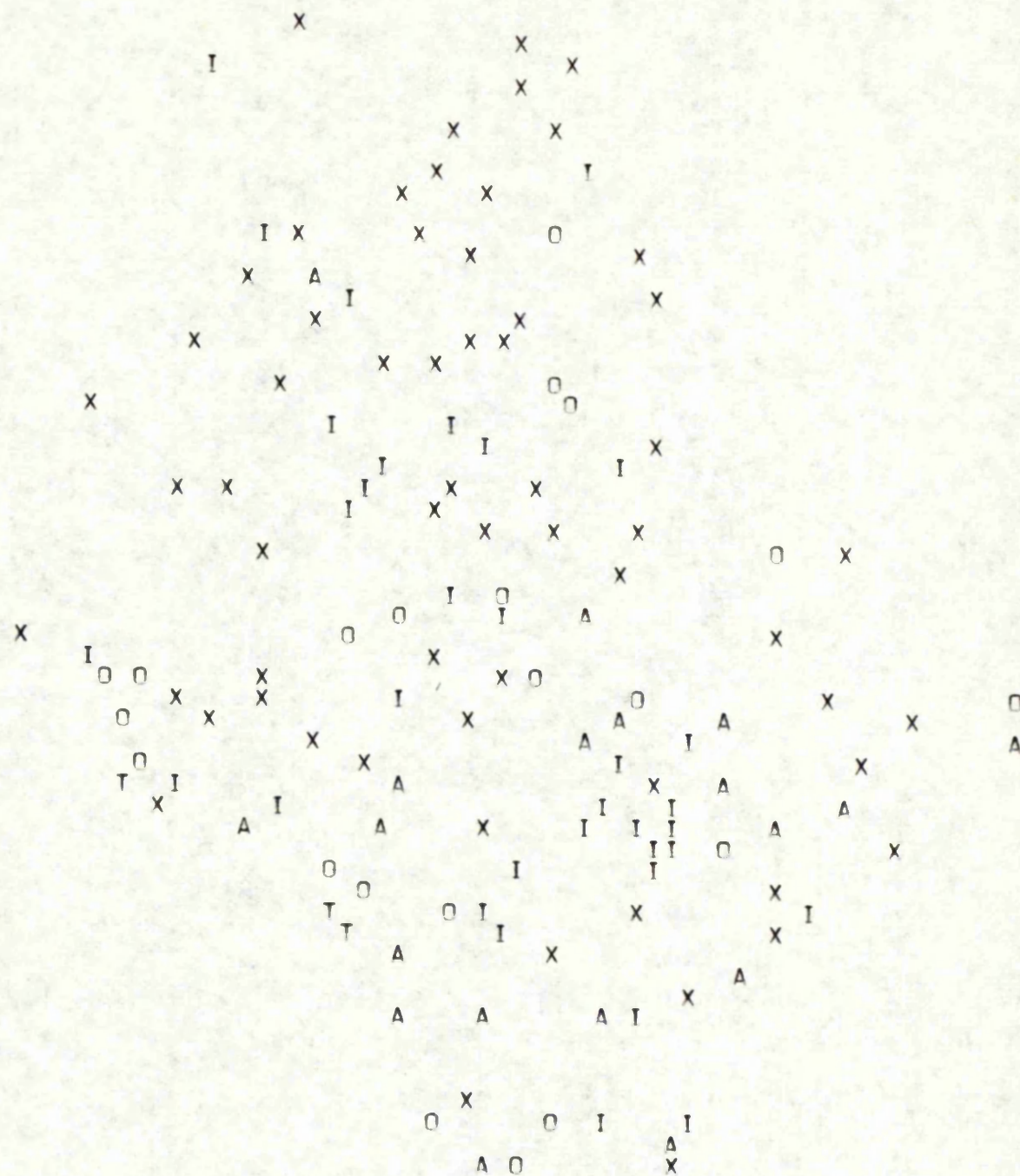
[ai] v. [ei]

X { [aibága]
[aí:ba]

O { [eibága]
[êiba]

V [ají:ba]

A [nêiba]



MAP 10

'Die'

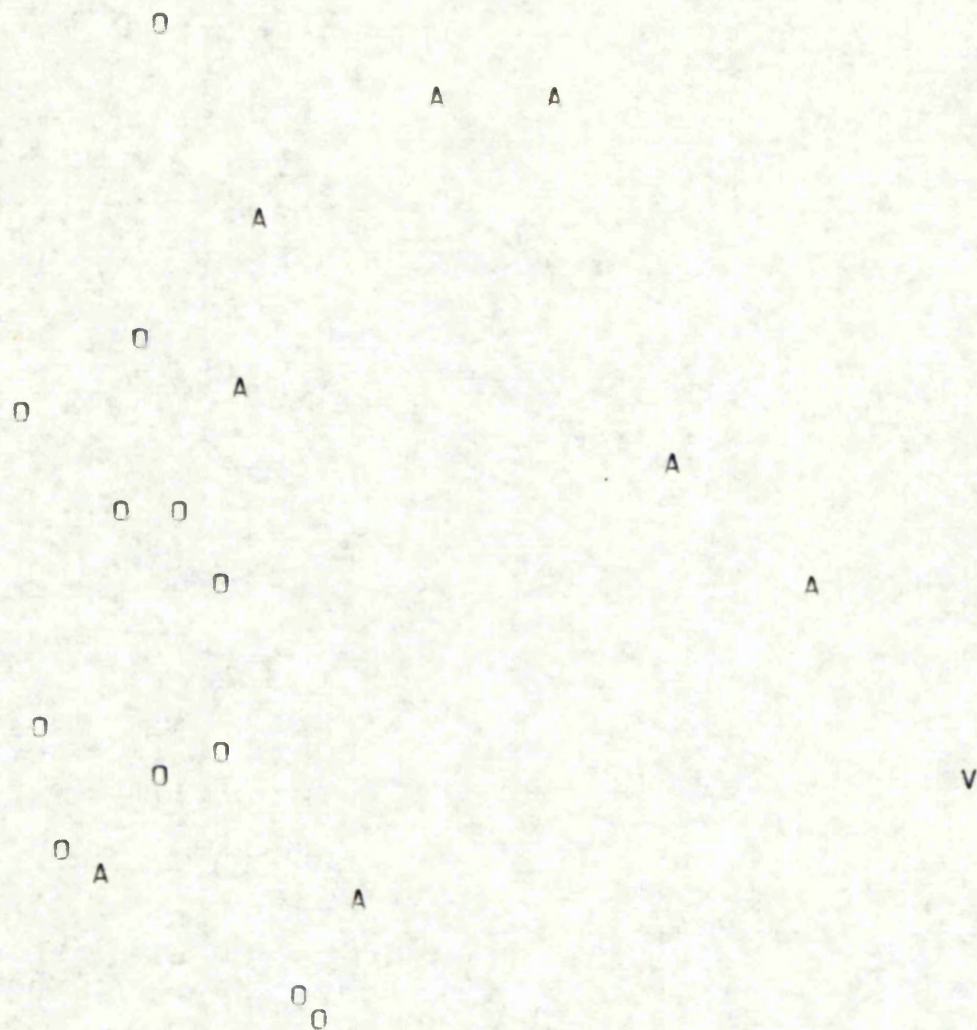
[fa] v. [fwa] v. [fka]

O [fwa]

X [fa]

T [pf-]

A [fka]



MAP 11

'I saw it' (Class 9) [dʒi]v. [ji]

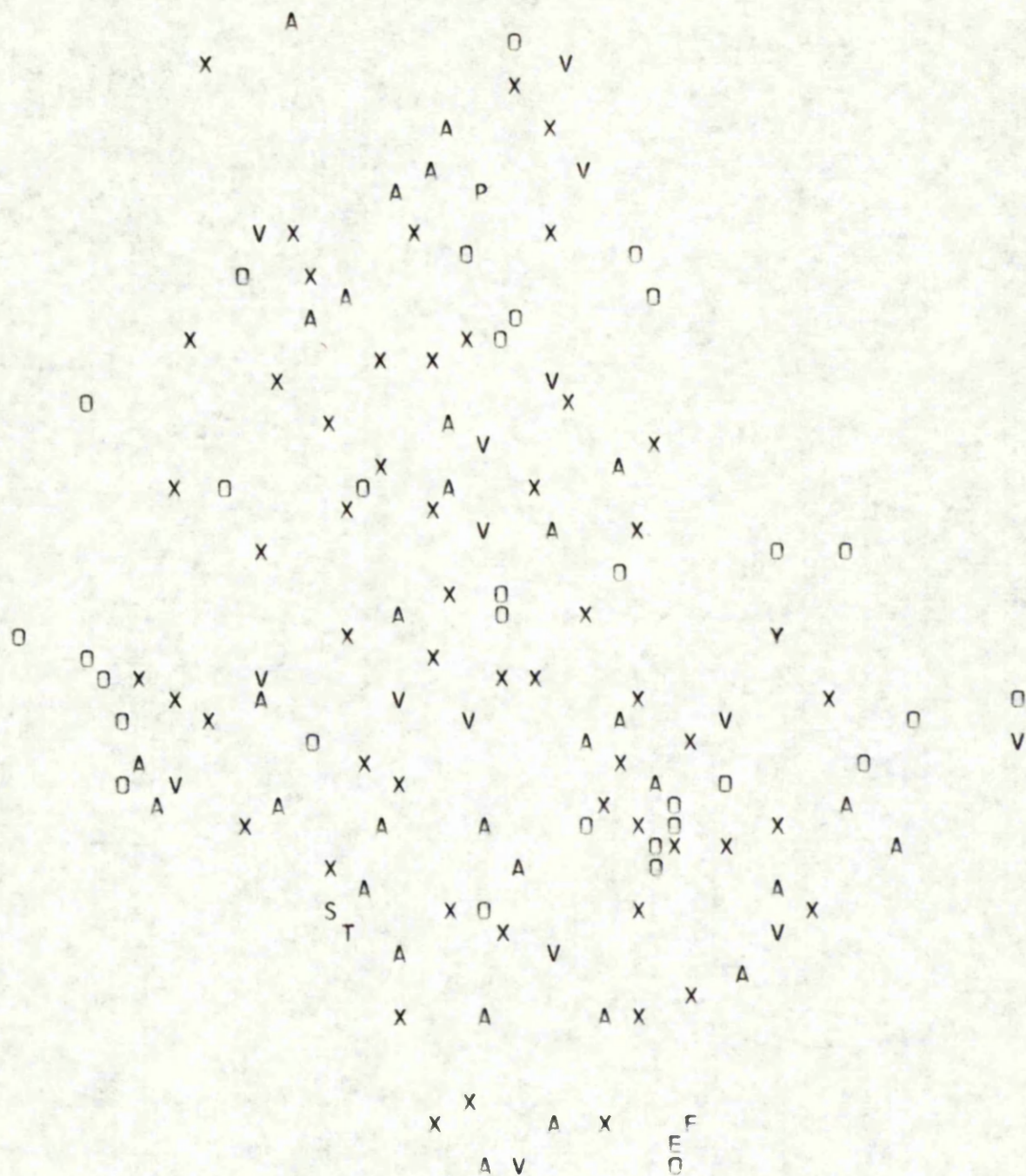
Unmarked

informants: [nadʒurɛbɔ]

o [nɔʒurɛbɔ]

A: [nadʒurɛbɔ]

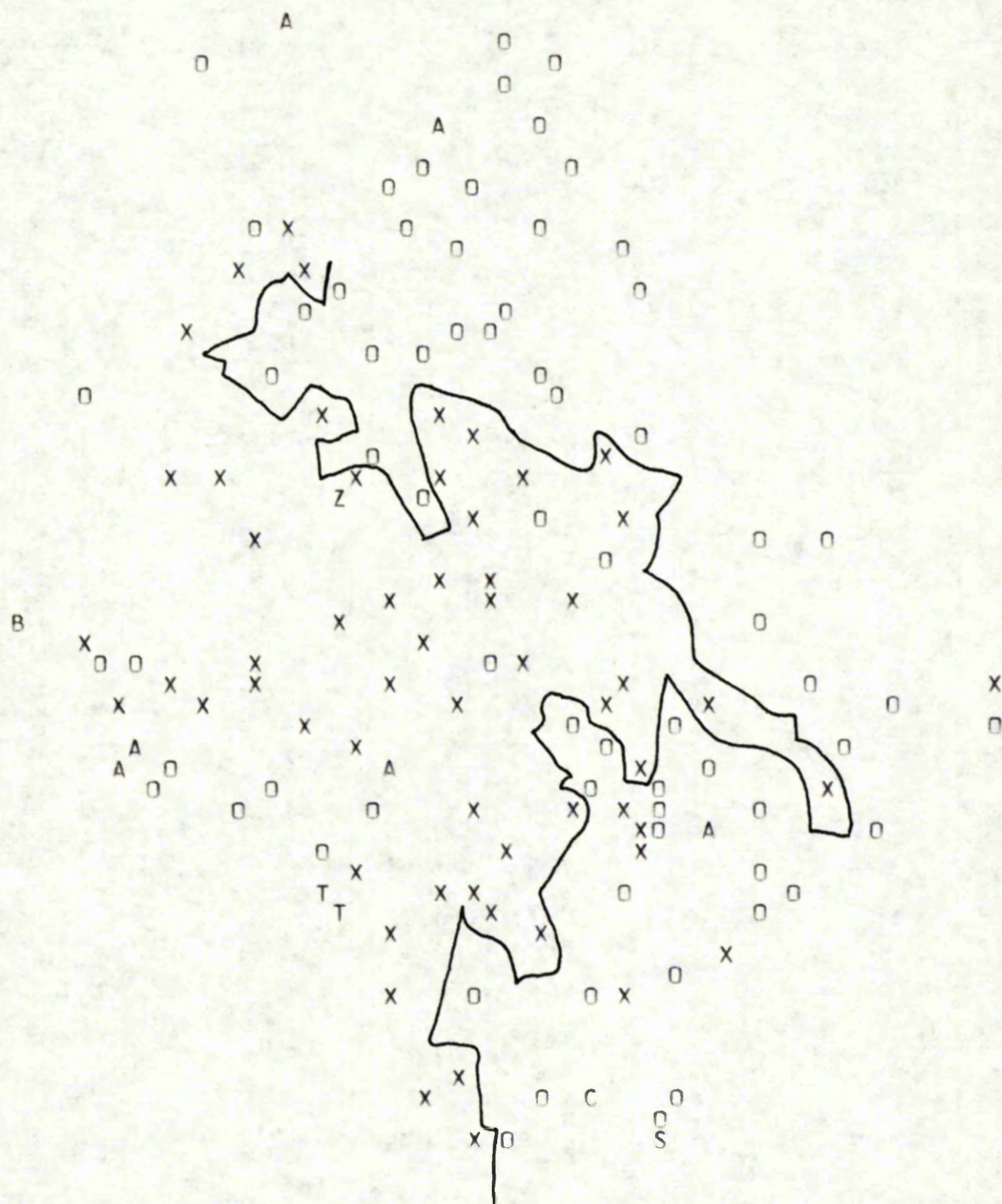
v [nɔʒurɛbɔ]



MAP 12/13
'Peas'/'Counties'

[s] v. [j]

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| X [amasáza]/[amasáza] | A [amasáza]/[amaśáza] |
| O [amaśáza]/[amaśáza] | V [amaśáza]/[amasáza] |
| P [obuśáza]/[amaśáza] | E [amaśáza]/- |
| S [amadžére]/[amaśáza] | F [amasáza]/- |
| T [amazére]/- | |
| Y [obusáza]/[amasáza] | |



MAP 14

'I speak'

Present Habitual Tense

X [ŋgambága]

/-ga/

O [ŋgâ:mba] ∅

Z [ŋgâ:mbaga]

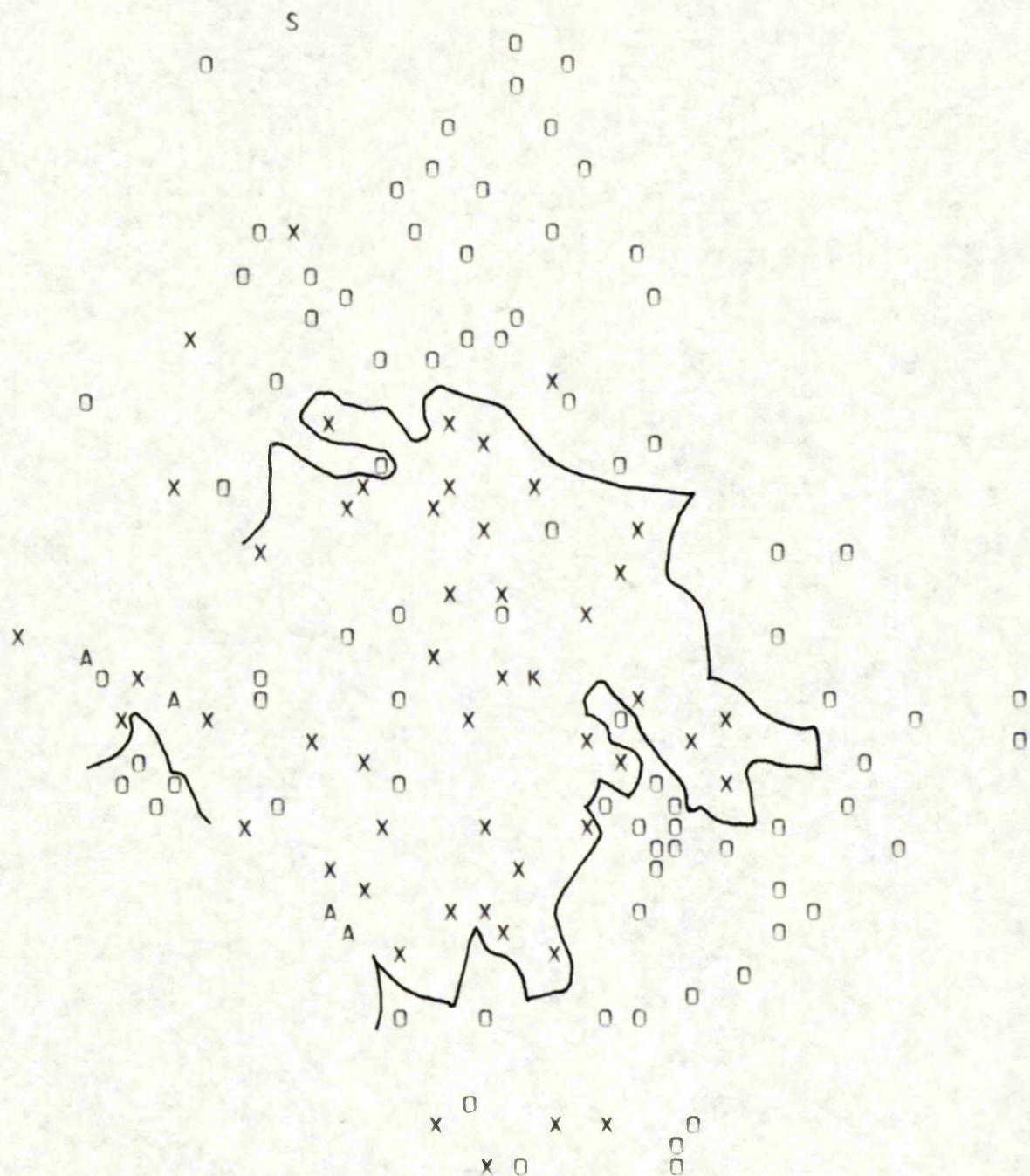
A [ni:ŋgâmba] /ni-/

S [ni:ŋgambága] /ni- -ga/

B [ndaŋgâ:mba] /-ra-/

T [ndaŋgambága] /-ra- -ga/

C = O and A



MAP 15

'I am speaking' Present Actual Tense

X [ndagâ:mba] /-ra-/ O [ni:ngâ:mba] /ni-/

K [nkweĩsendagâ:mba] A [ndikugâ:mba] /-riku-/

S = X and O



MAP 16
'I went'

Yesterday Past Tense

X { [nâ:dzenzíre] /-a-/(mod.root) } O { [ndzenzíre] (mod.root)
 { [nâ:dzendíre] } { [ndzendíre]
 Z { [nadzenzíre]
 { [nadzendíre]

S = X and O

E [ndadzéndíre]

F [ndaâ:dzendíre]

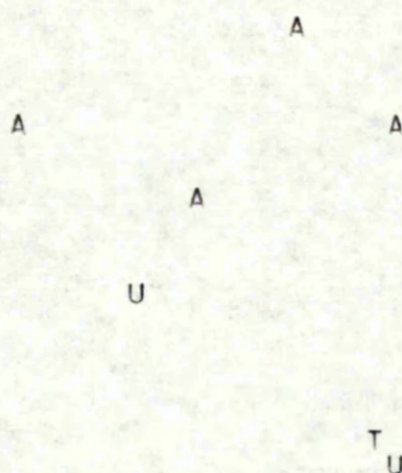


MAP 17

'He is still speaking' 'Still' Tense

x [atʃágamba] /tʃá-/ o [natʃigâmba] /n- -tʃi-/

v [atʃáragamba] /-tʃára-/ A [akwéisenagaâmba]



A

MAP 18

'They died' (Class 10)

Far Past Tense

Unmarked

informants:

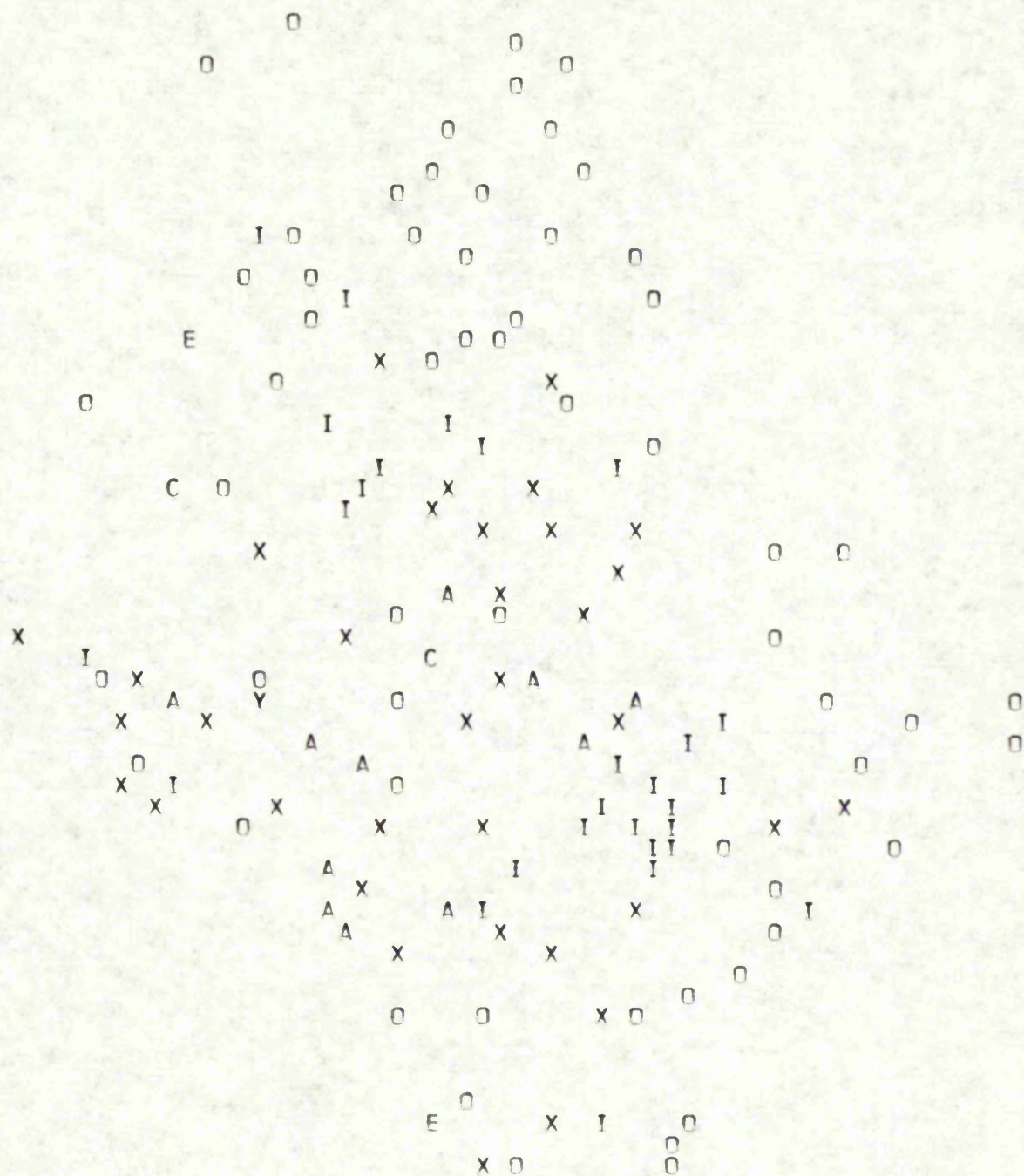
[zɪkáf(w)a]
 [ɪkáf(w)a]
 [zɪkáhwa]
 [dzɪkáhwa]
 [zɪkáhwa]

/-ka-/

A [zaf(w)î:re] /-a-/ (mod. root)

T [tʃapfɛwe]

U [zapfɛ]



MAP 19

'I don't want' Negative Present Actual

X [tɪndɛːnda]

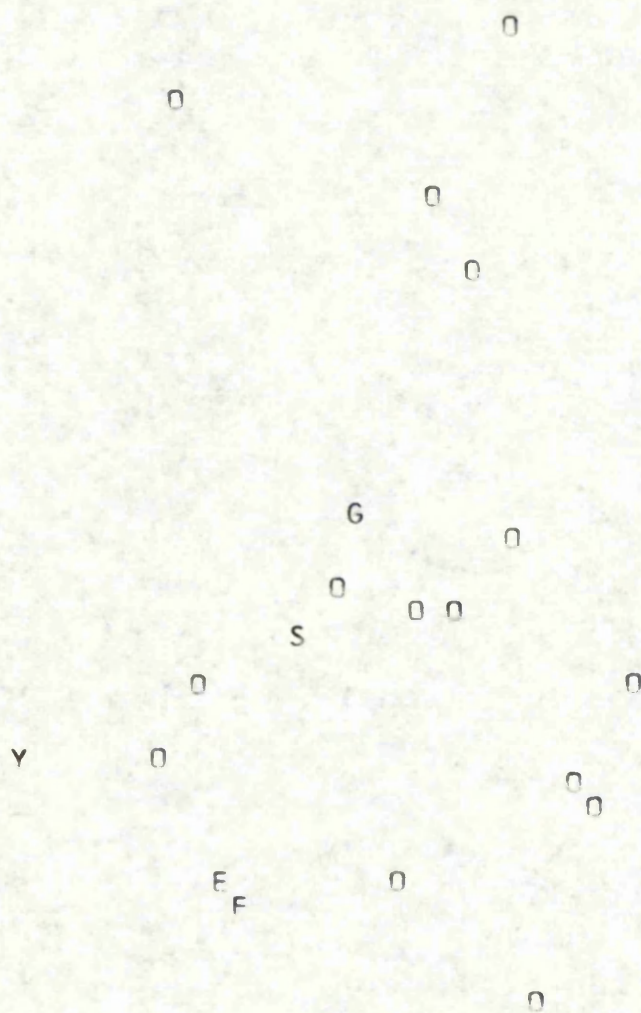
/tɪ- -rɪ-/ O [tɪndɪkwɛːnda] /tɪ- -rɪku-/

Y [tɪnɛːnda]

A [táwendɛːnda] /táue- -rɪ-/

C [táwondɛːnda] /táuo- -rɪ-/

E [táːndɛnda] /tá- -rɪ-/



MAP 20

'Good' (Class 10) (Class 10 Adjectival Prefix)

Unmarked

informants: { [nû:ndzi]
[ndû:ndzi]

Y [ndû:ndzi]

E [nzi:dza]

F [nʃé:ʒa]

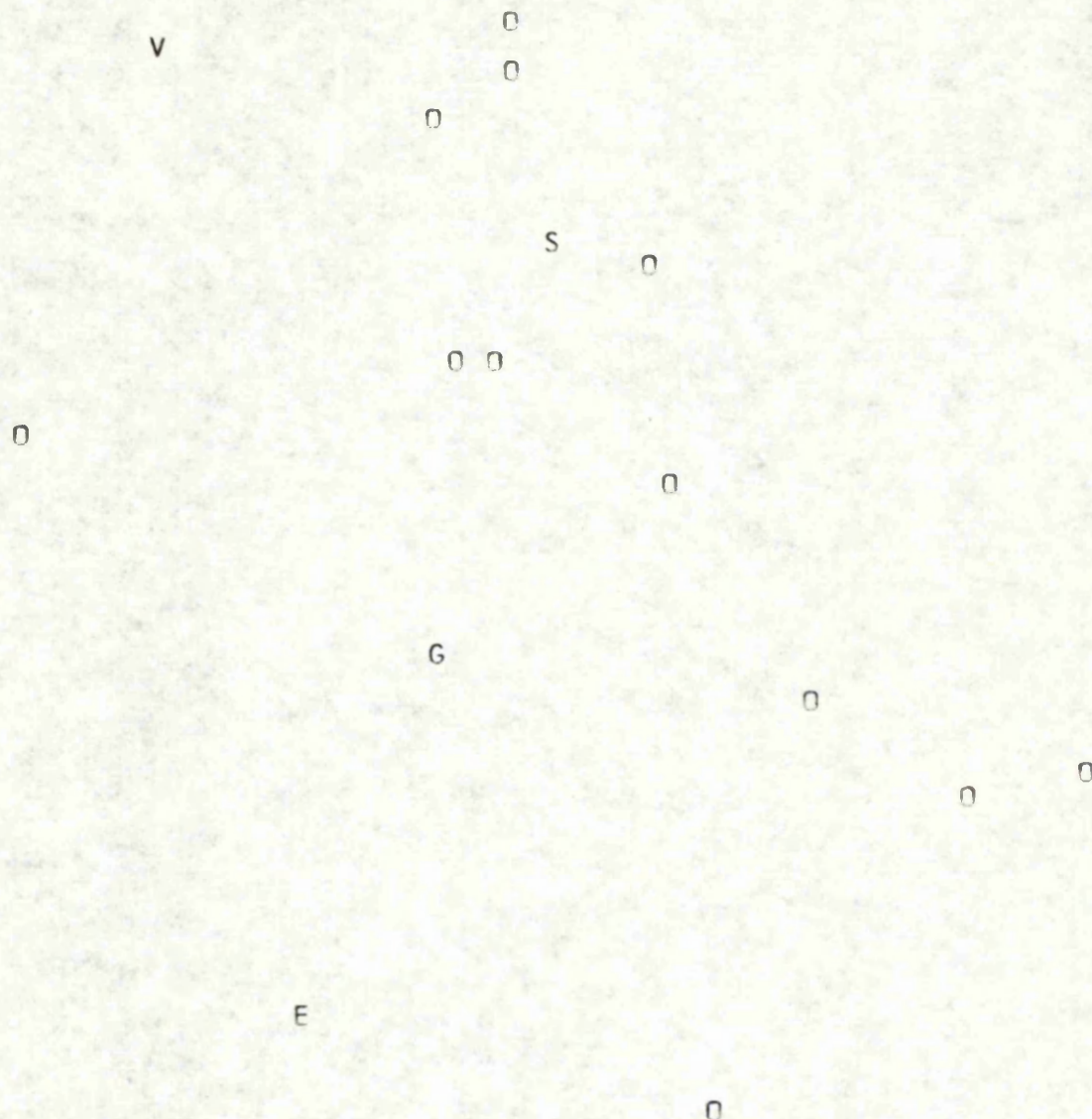
/n/

o [zirû:ndzi] /zi/

G [dzirû:ndzi] /gi/

S [nû:ndzi] and

[zirû:ndzi] (for clarity)



MAP 21

'They died' (Class 10) Class 10 Verbal Prefix

Unmarked

informants: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [zikáf(w)a] \\ [zaf(w)î:re] \\ [zapfíje] \\ [zikáhwa] \end{array} \right\} /zu/$

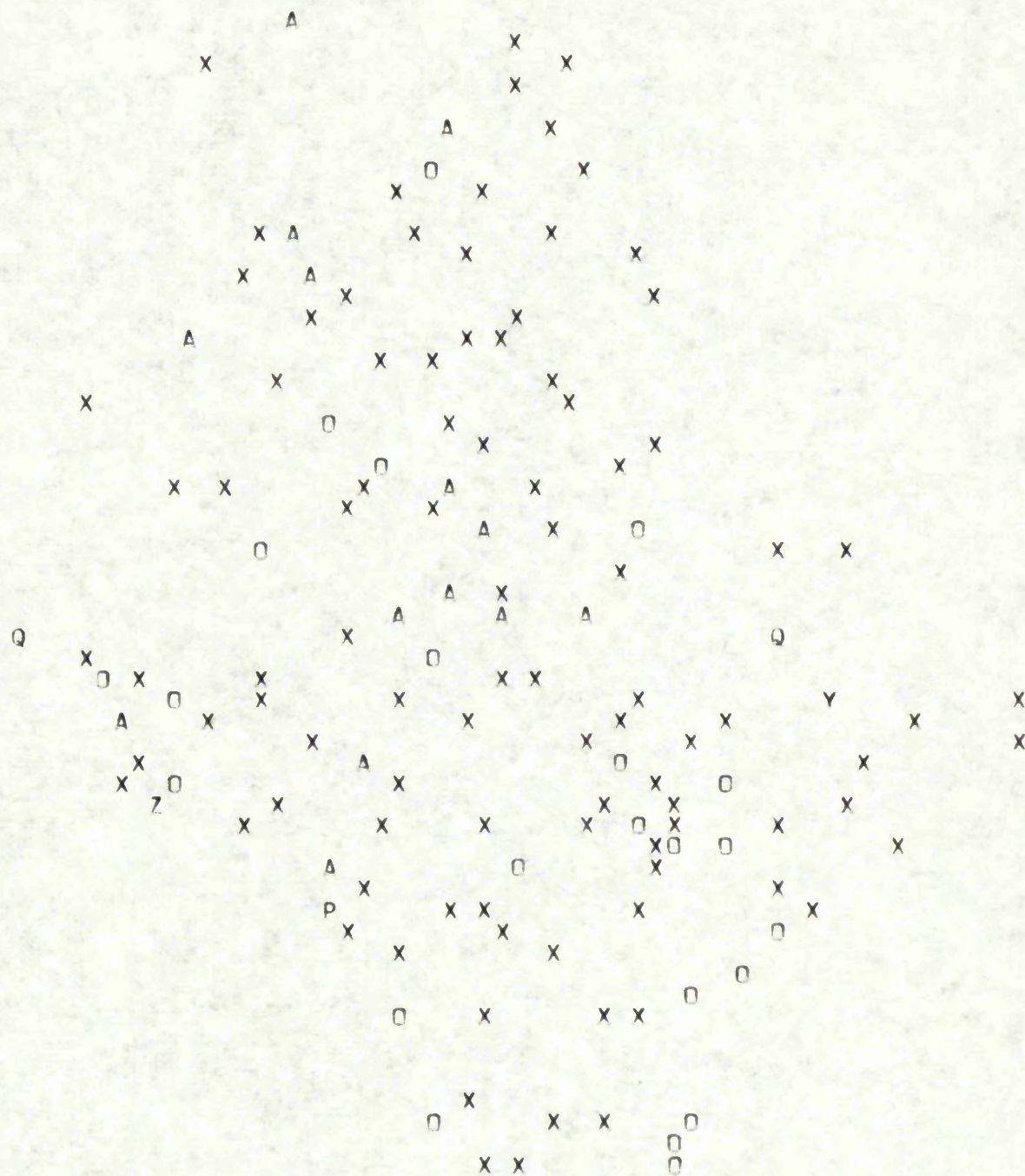
o [íkáf(w)a] /i/

E [tʃapfíjéwe]

G [dzikáhwa]

v [zikáhwa]

s = [zikáfwa] and [íkáfwa]



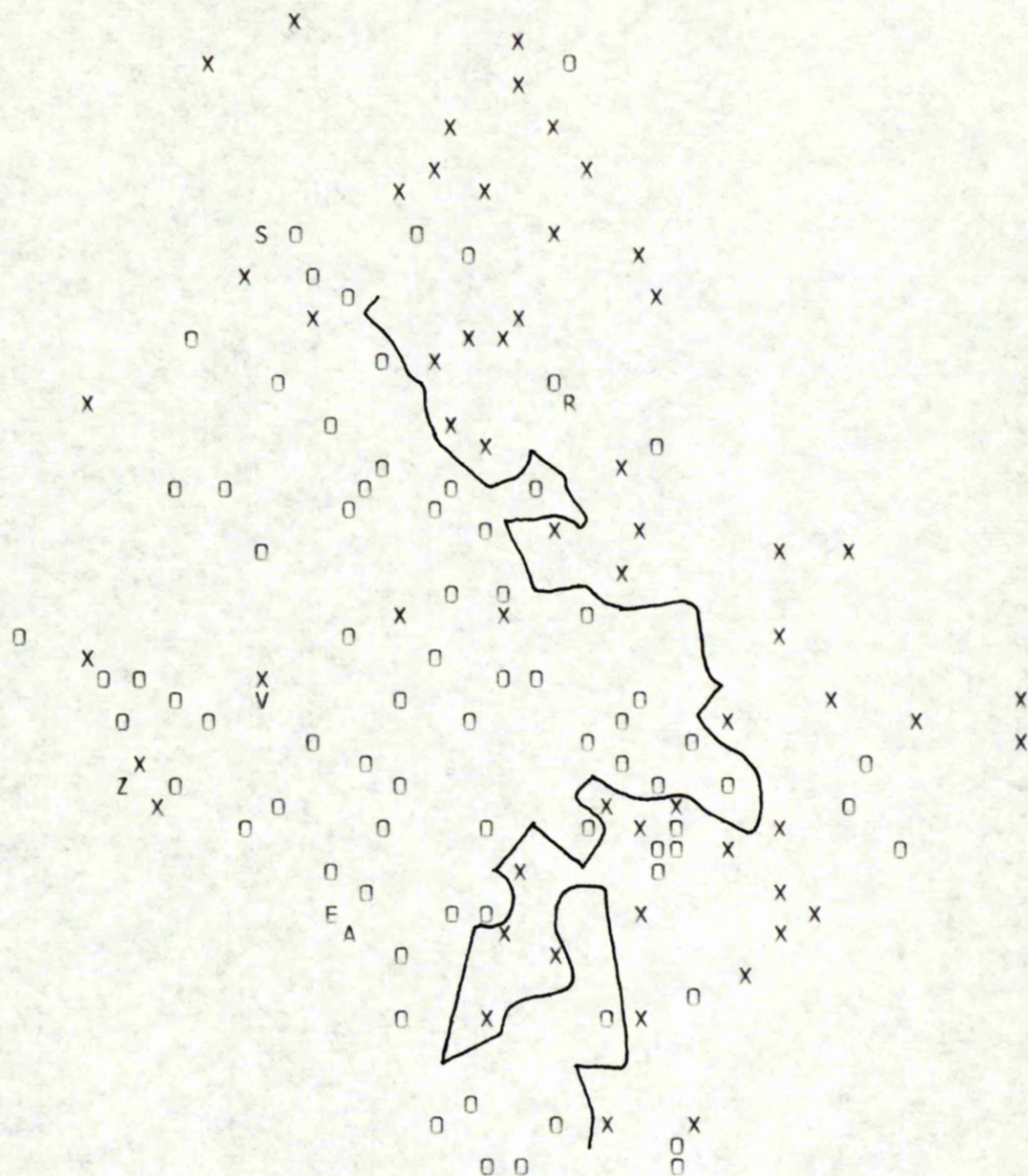
MAP 22
'Houses'

Class 6 v. Class 10

X [amazu]
Y [amazu]
Z [amazu] } 6

O [ɛ̃:zu]
P [ínzu]
Q [ɛ̃:zu] } 10

A [amáka]



MAP 23

'Don't forget' Negative Imperative

X [tɛ́bwa] /-ta-/ O [táɛbwa] /-ta-/

([w] or [g]: see Item 4)

Z [tɛ́badzírwa]

A [táɛberwa]

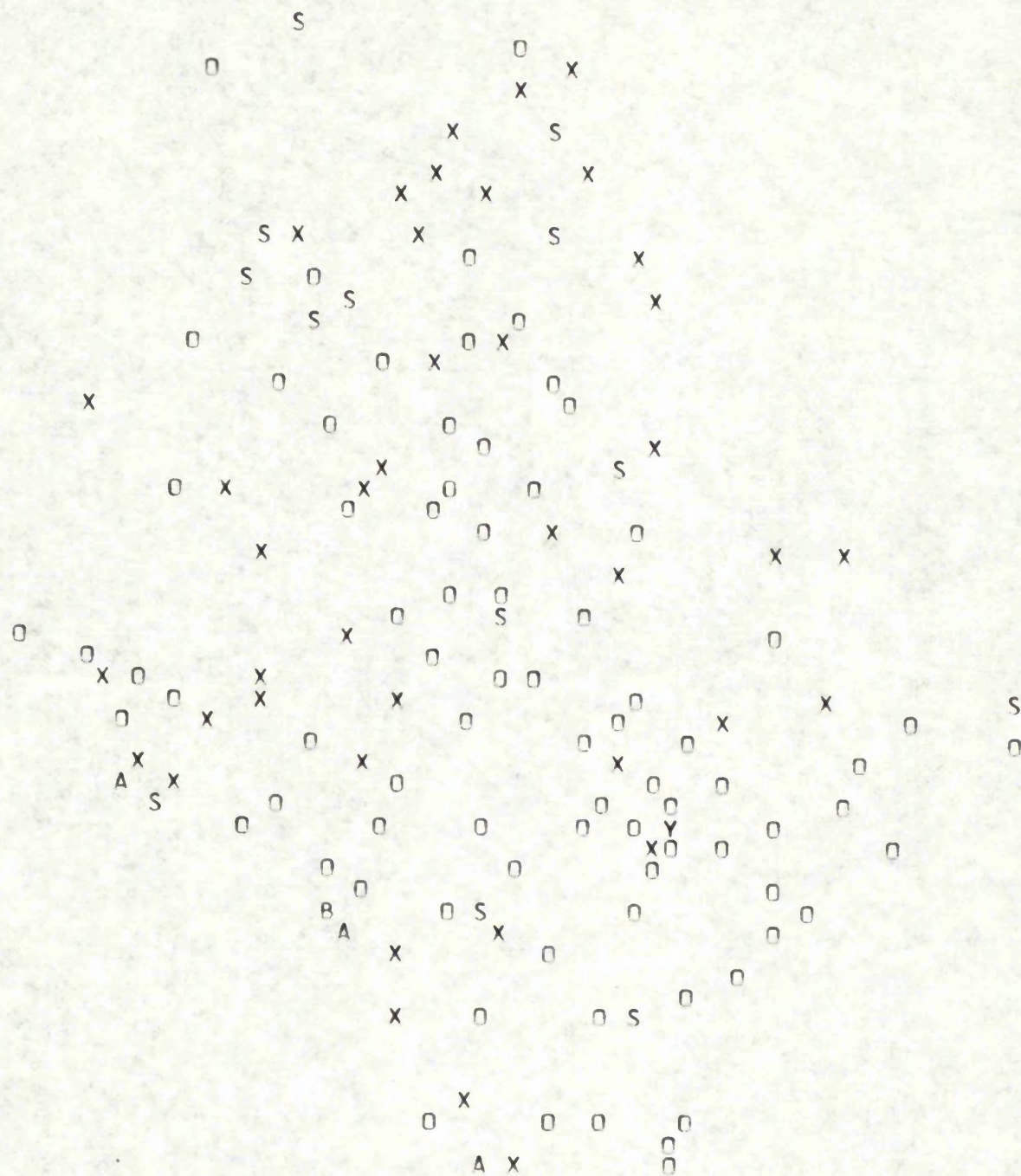
V [tí:zakwé:bwa]

E [táhúba]

R [tɛ́bwa] (future) and

[táɛbwa] (immediate)

S = X and O



MAP 24

'Sweet potatoes'

X [ɛbitá:kurɪ]

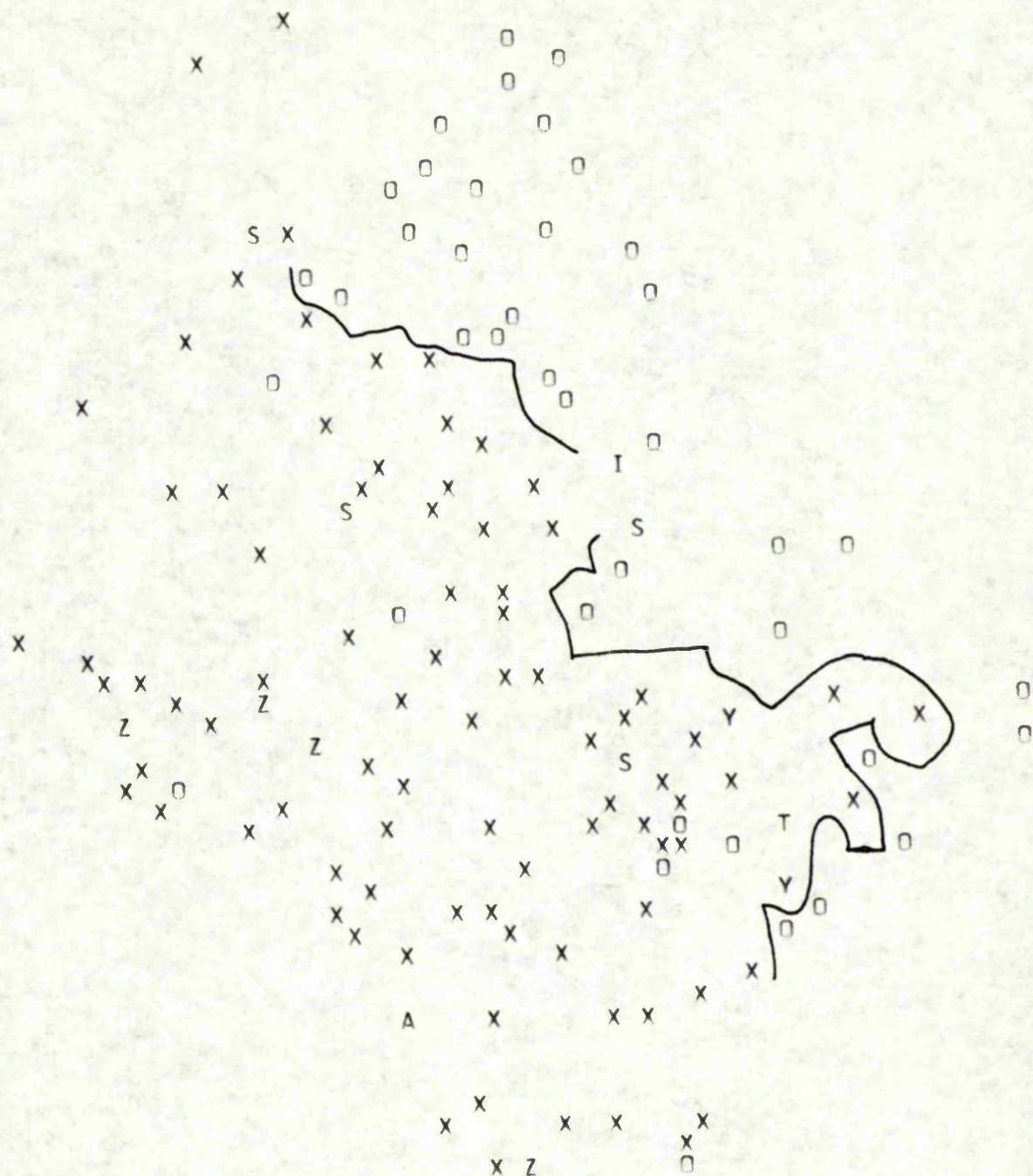
O [ɛbirɪ:bwa]

A [ɛbizû:mba]

B [ɛbizô:mba]

Y = X 'sweet potatoes' and
O 'food'

S = X and O



MAP 25

'Porcupine'

X [etɬɪpɔgôte]

Z [etɬɪpɔgôte]

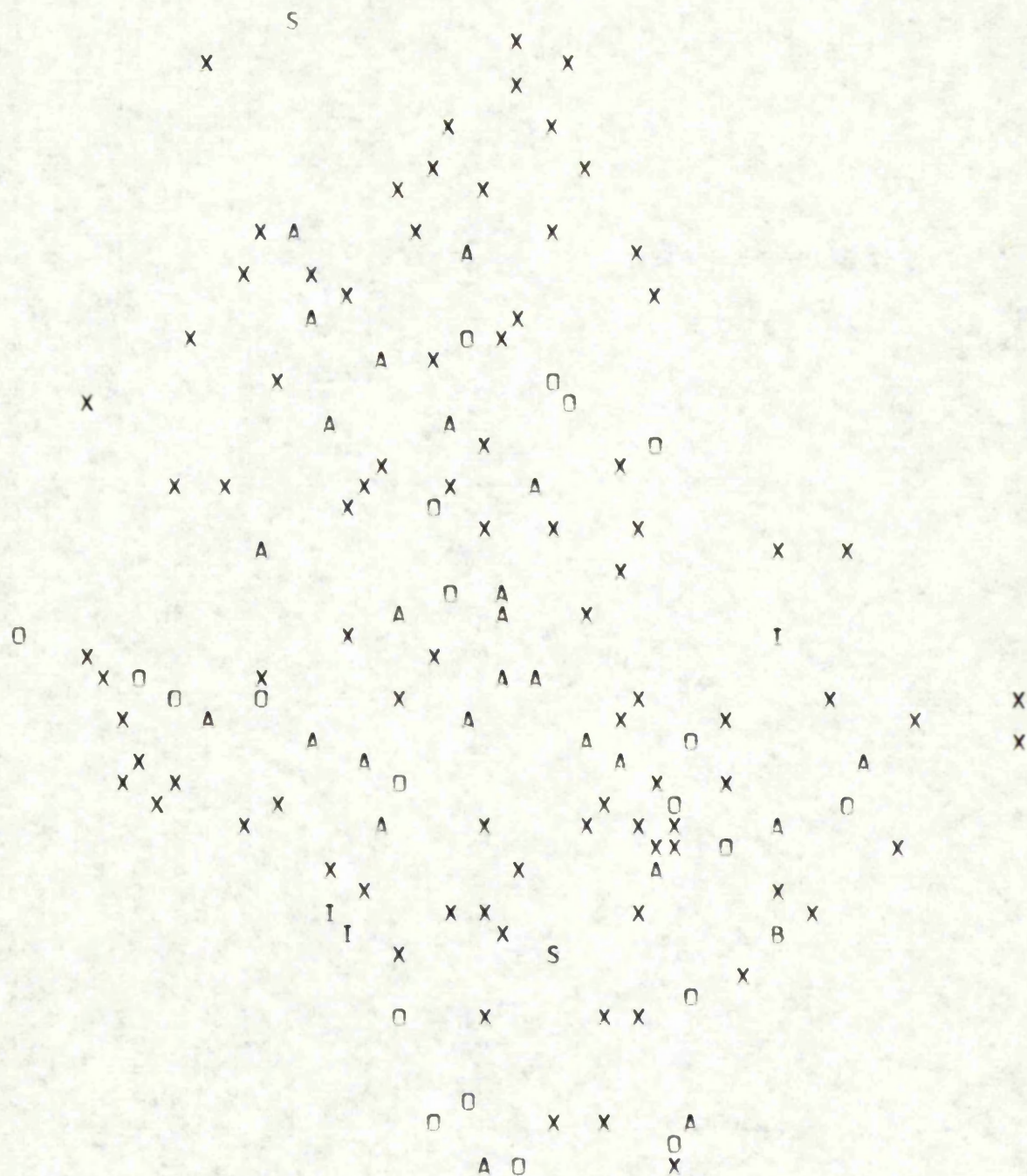
A [ekɪpɔgôte]

O [etɬɪdʒêsi] and

X 'porcupine quill'

S = X and O

Y = X 'porcupine' and
O (another animal)T = X 'porcupine' and
Y 'porcupine' (for clarity)



MAP 26
'But'

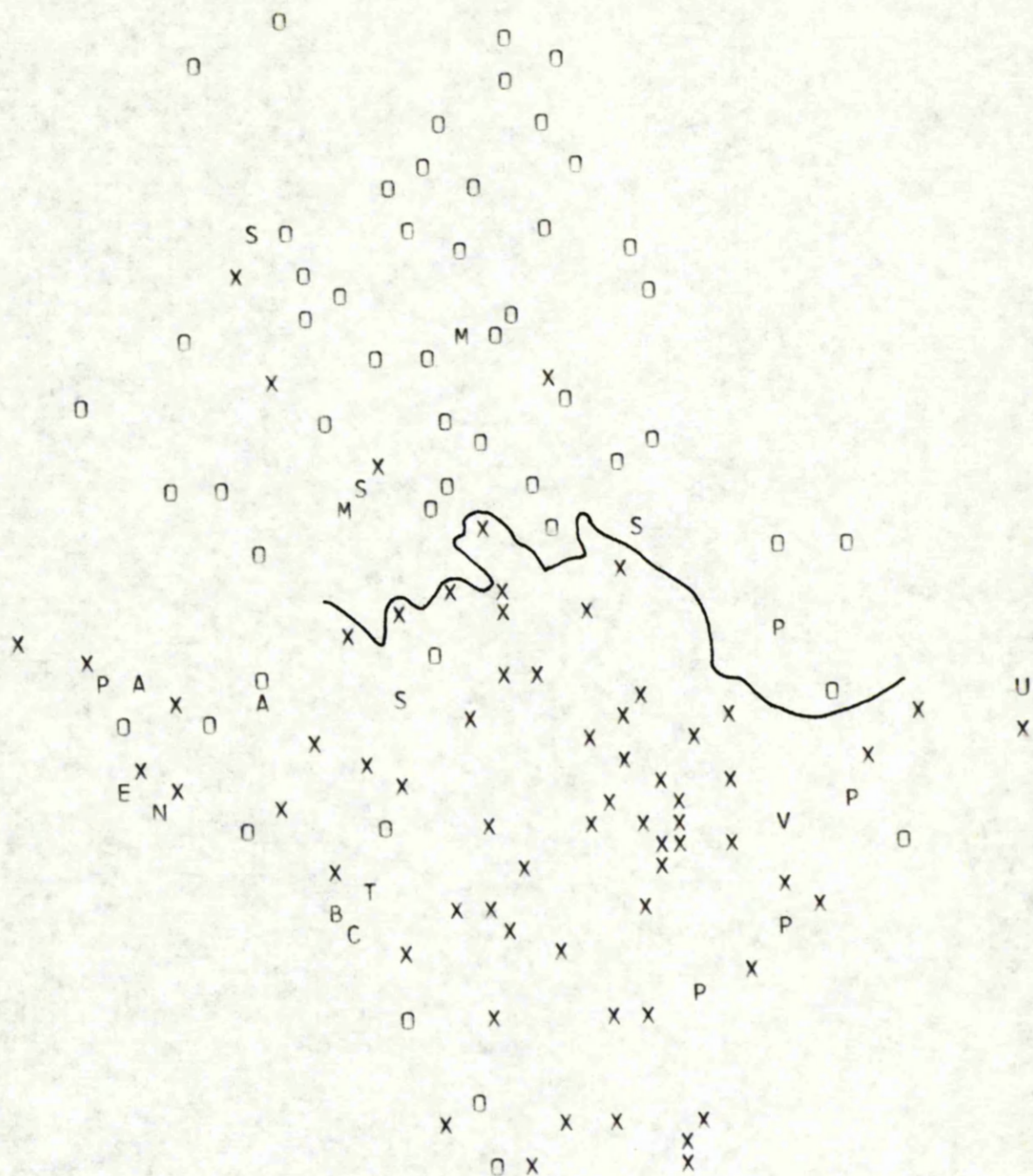
X [kwô:ŋka]

o [tô:nka]

A [kwé:ŋka]

B [kwéka]

S = X and O



MAP 27
'Mushrooms'

X [ɔbunédzere]

A [ɔbumédzere]

B [ɔtumédzere]

C [ɪmédzere]

E [ɛntʃábure]

O [ɔbutú:zi]

P [ɛbitú:zi]

M [ɔbutú:si]

N [ɔbutú:nzi]

S = X and O

T = X (small) and O (big)

U = X and O (different types)

V = O (generic) and X (one type)

X [ɔmufozi] A [ɔmusozi] O [ɔmugɔːŋgo] F [ɔmurâmbi]
Y [ɔrufozi] B [ɔrusozi] P [ɔrugɔːŋgo] E = A and F
Z = X (big) and Y (small)
Q = O and P (people afraid of it)
R = O and A (bigger)
G = F and O (inhabited)
S = O and Y (mountain)
L [ɔmuʃódzi] T = O and X (mountain)
W [akafózi] U = O (short) and B (long)
V = O (big) and Y (small)

MAP 29
'I sold it' (Near Past) (Class 7)

Unmarked

informants: [natſigúza]

$$O[\text{nat}\{t\hat{u}:ndz\}]$$
$$s = \{natfigura\}$$
 and 0

A [natfitu:nza]

$T = \{\text{nat}, \text{fig}, \text{uz}\}$ and 0 and A

$$V = [\text{nat} \text{ figura}] \text{ and } A$$

E [guhāha] 'to sell'

$Y = [\text{natfigúza}]$ and o 'I bought it'



MAP 30/31

'I caught fish'/'I shaved my hair' (Near Past)

1. [naʃoɛbjeɾâ:nza]

3. [namweiʃõtʃe]

2. [natégebjeɾâ:nza]

4. [natégeiʃõtʃe]

X = 1/3 A = 1/4

O = 2/4 V = 2/3

Y = 1/[namweiʃõke]

H = X and A P = X and O R = A and O

Z = [naʃoɛbjeɾâ:nza]/3

J = 2 (basket) and 1 (net)/3 S = V and O

B = 1/[natégeiʃõke]

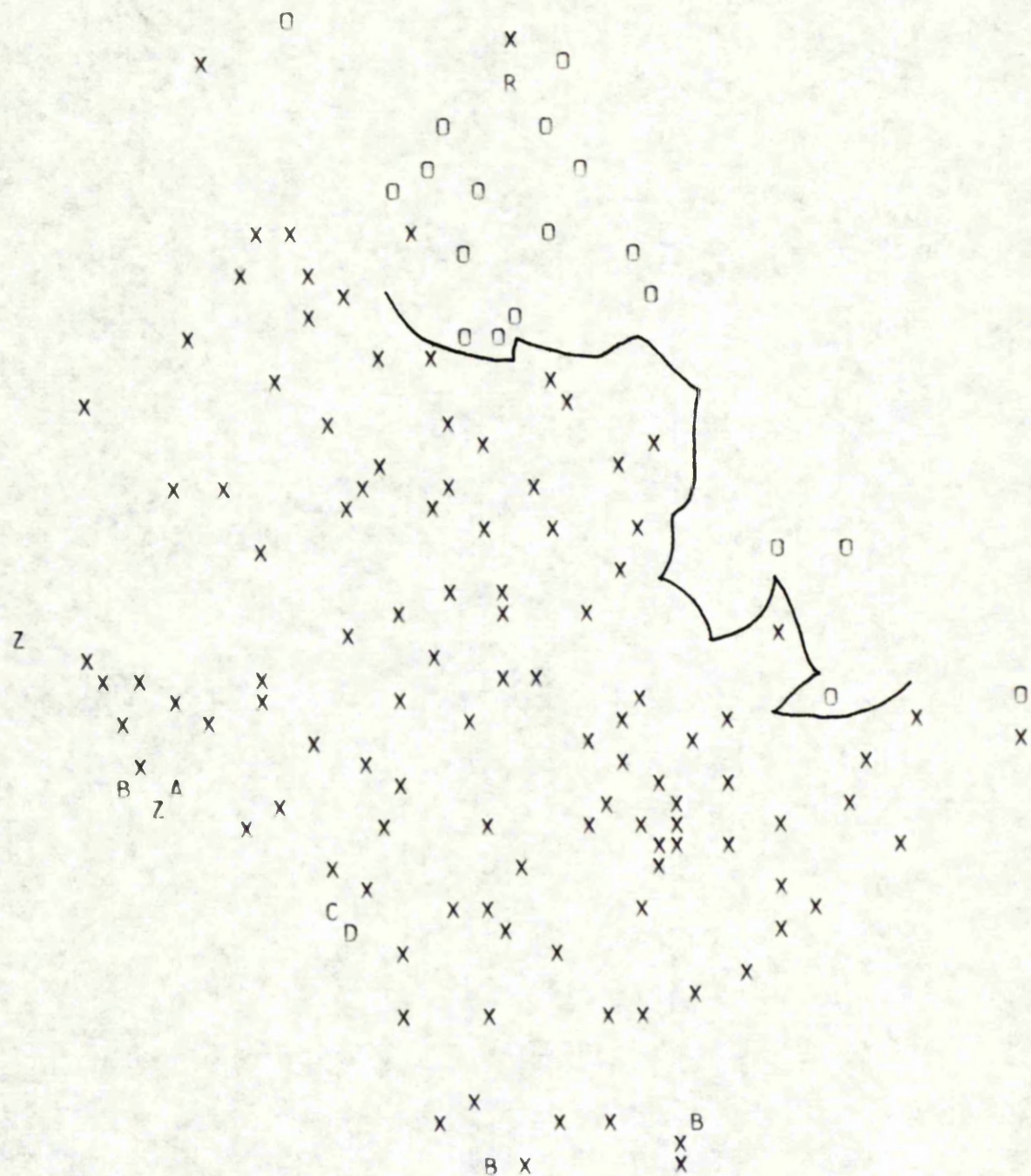
K = 2 (net) and 1 (basket)/3 U = [naték-]/3

E [guʃõha]/[kwogõʃa]

'to fish'/'to shave' L = 1/3 (all off) and 4 (short)

G [najeʃnze]/[namwa]

M = 1 (lakes) and 2 (swamps)/4



MAP 32
'Liver'

x [etʃitúgu]

z [etʃitíku]

o [etʃitúgu]

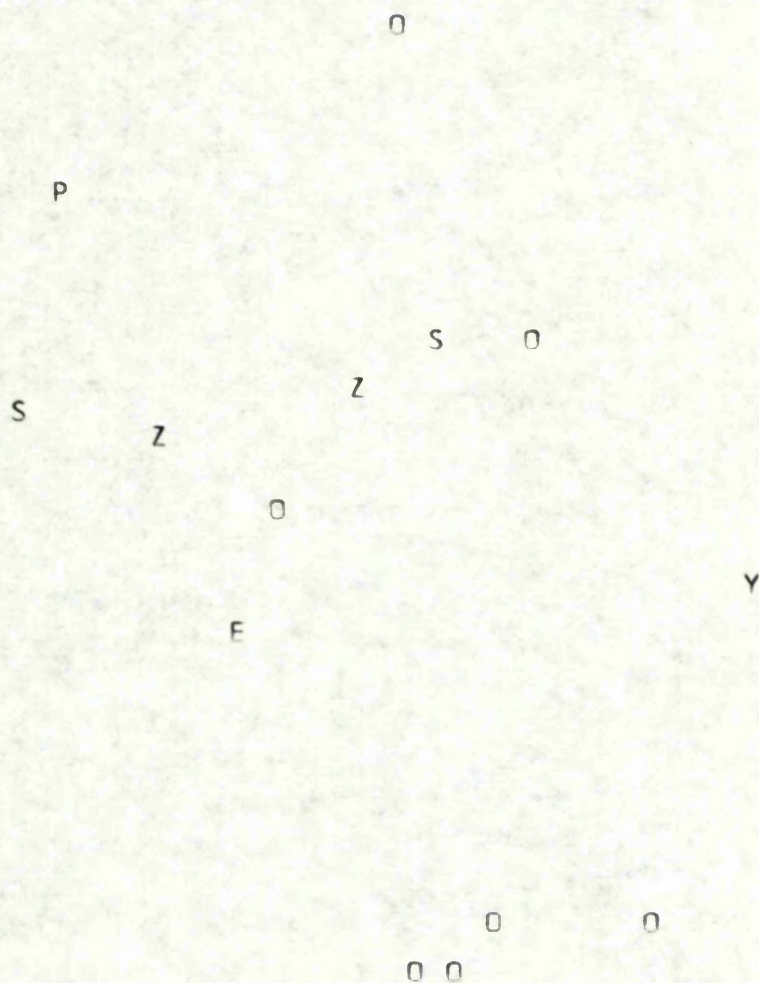
R = o and [etʃí:ne]

A [ɔmwírɪma]

B [ɔmwízɪma]

C [etʃidzɪma]

D [etʃezɪma]



MAP 33
'Old man'

Unmarked

informants: [ɔmugurúsi]

o [ɔmukêira]

Y=[ɔmugurúsi] (male) and

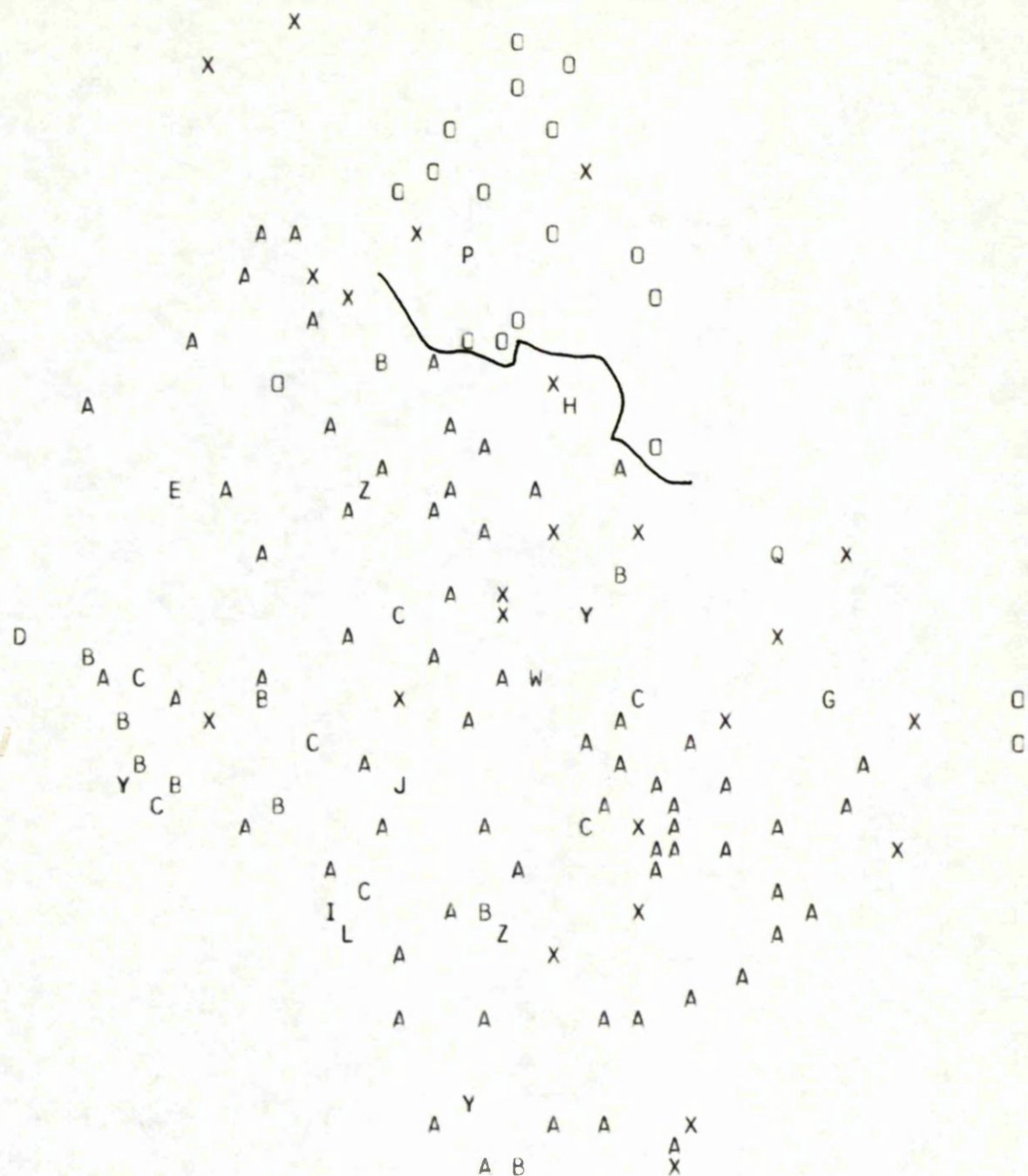
p [ɔmukéra]

[ɔmukêira] (female: very old)

z [ɔmugúrusi]

s=[ɔmugurúsi] and o

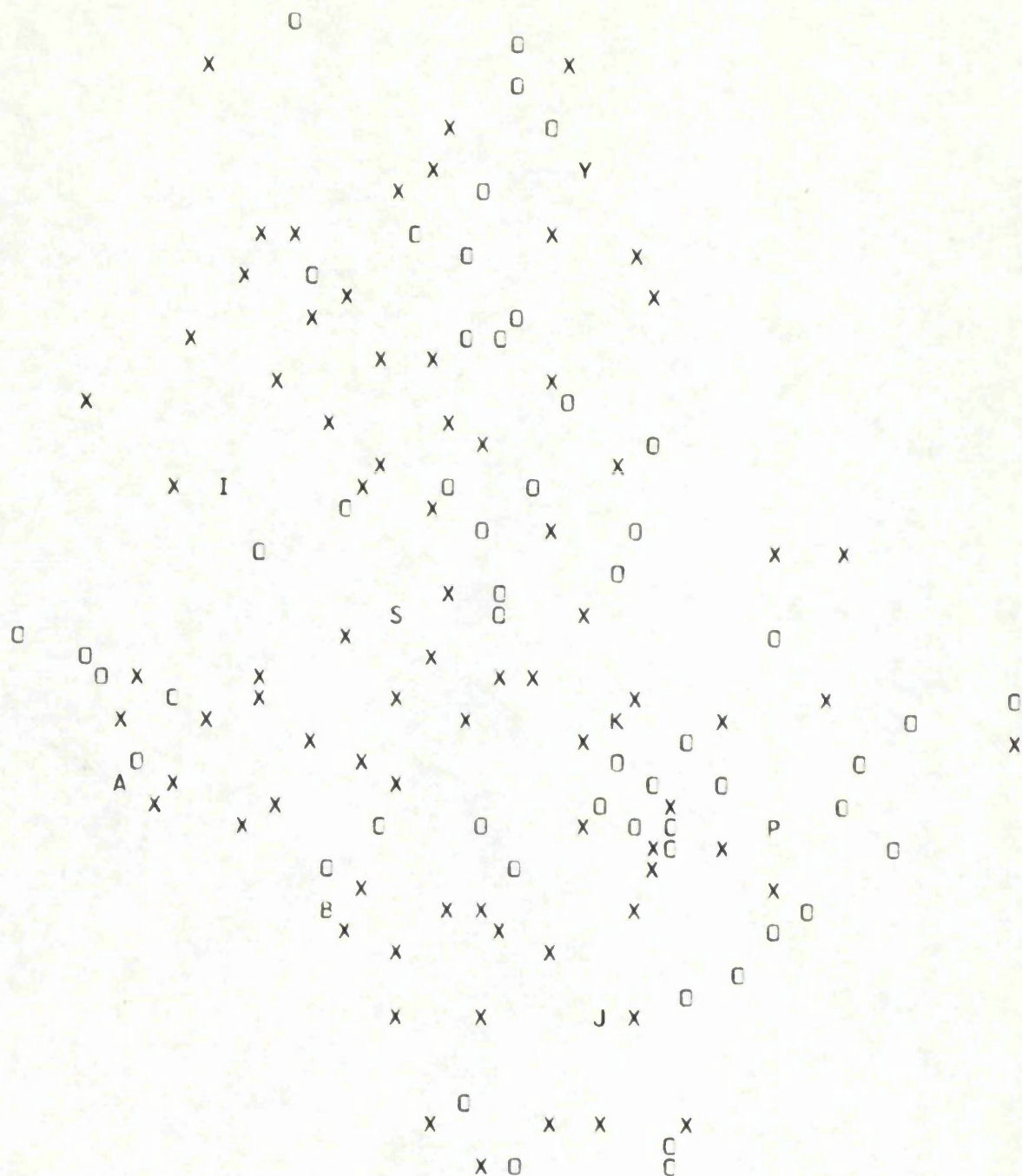
e [ɔmukámbe]



MAP 34
'Yesterday'

X [ɾɔmwebázjo]
 Y [ɾɔmwebázjo]
 Z [ɾɔmwebázjo]
 A [ɾɔmwebázo]
 B [ɾɔmwebázo]
 C [ɾɔmwebázo]
 D [ɾɔmwebázo]
 E [ɾɔmwebázo]

O [ɾɔmwabázjo]
 P [ɾɔmwabázjo]
 Q [ɾɔmwabázjo]
 G [ɾɔmwabázo]
 H [ɾɔmwabázo]
 J [ɾɔmwejázo]
 L [ɾɔmwejázo]
 W [ɾɔmwebázjo]



MAP 35

'Thank you'

X [wébare]

O [jébare]

Y = X (addressing) and

P = O (to one person) and X (to many)

[nazébare] (referring to third person)

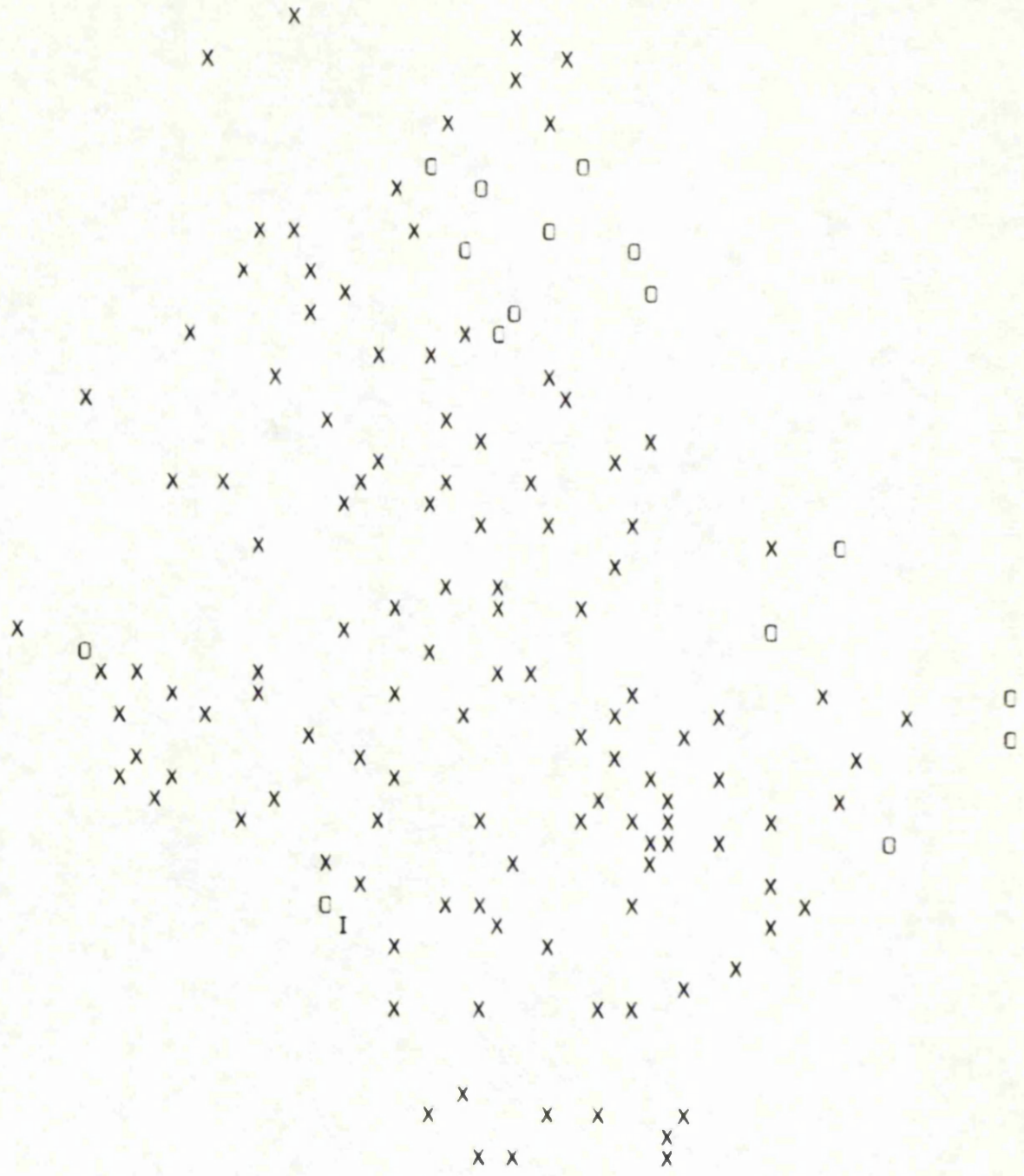
A [wakóze]

J [ɔjébare]

B [wakóze]

K = X (to digger) and J (otherwise)

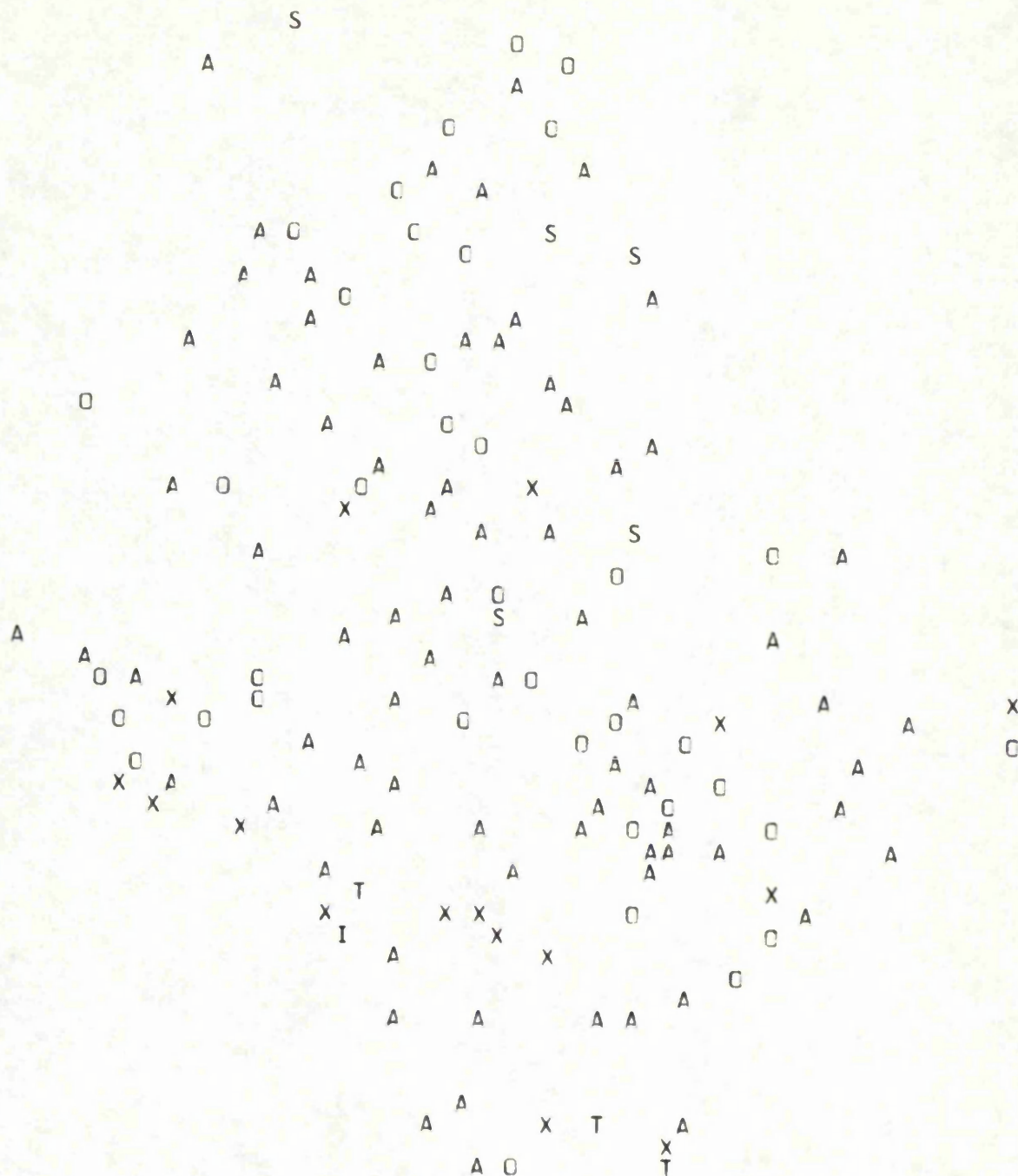
S = X and O



MAP 36
'Where?'

X [-he]

O [-hi]



MAP 37

'Where is it?' (Class 7)

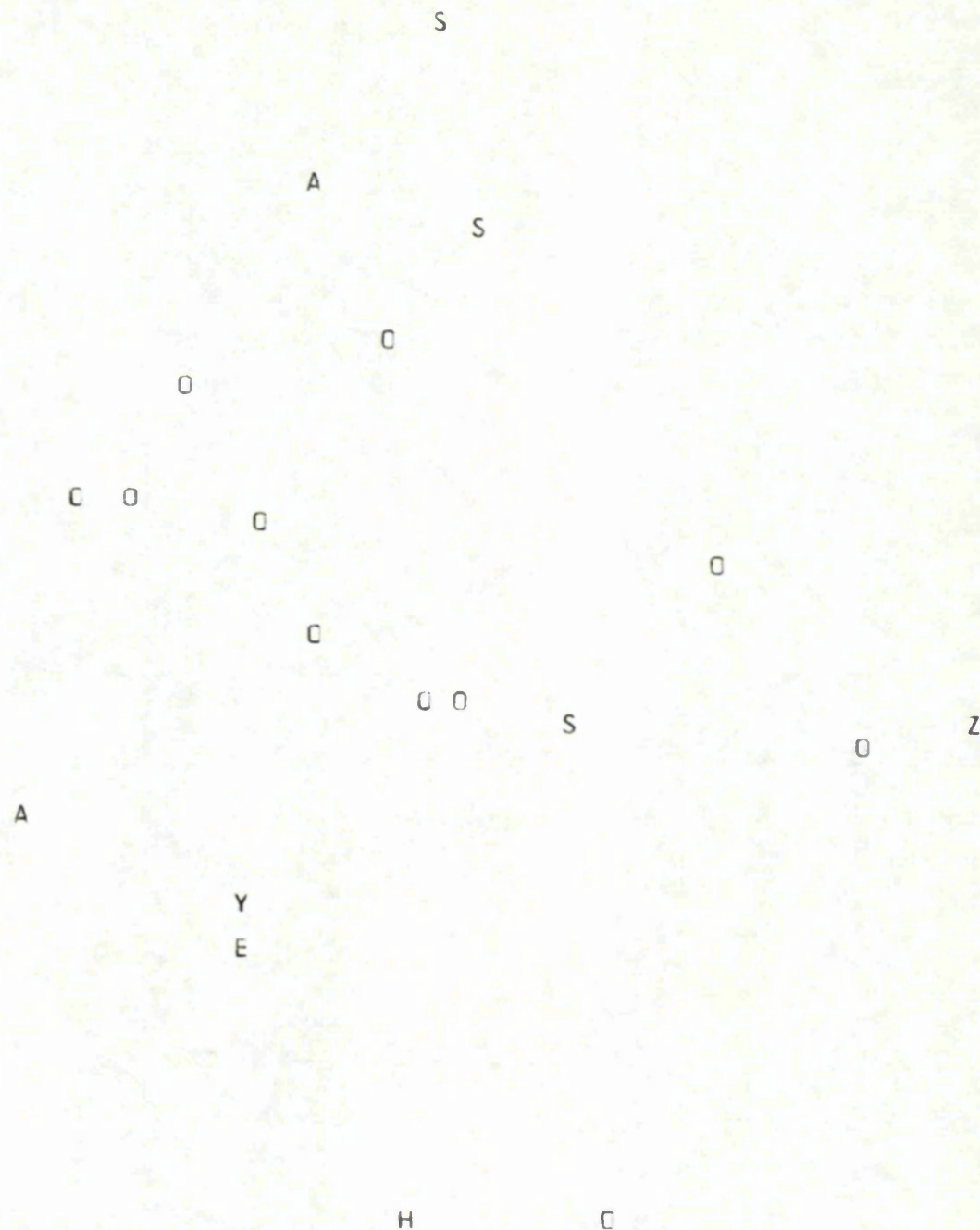
X { [tʃiríhe]
[tʃiríhi]

O { [tʃiráhe]
[tʃiráhi]

A { [tʃirɪkáhe]
[tʃirɪkáhi]

T = X and A

S = O and A



MAP 38
'Why?'

Unmarked

informants: [ahabwê:ntʃi]
([w] or [g]: see Item 4)

Y [ahabwétʃi]

Z [ahabwê:ntʃi]

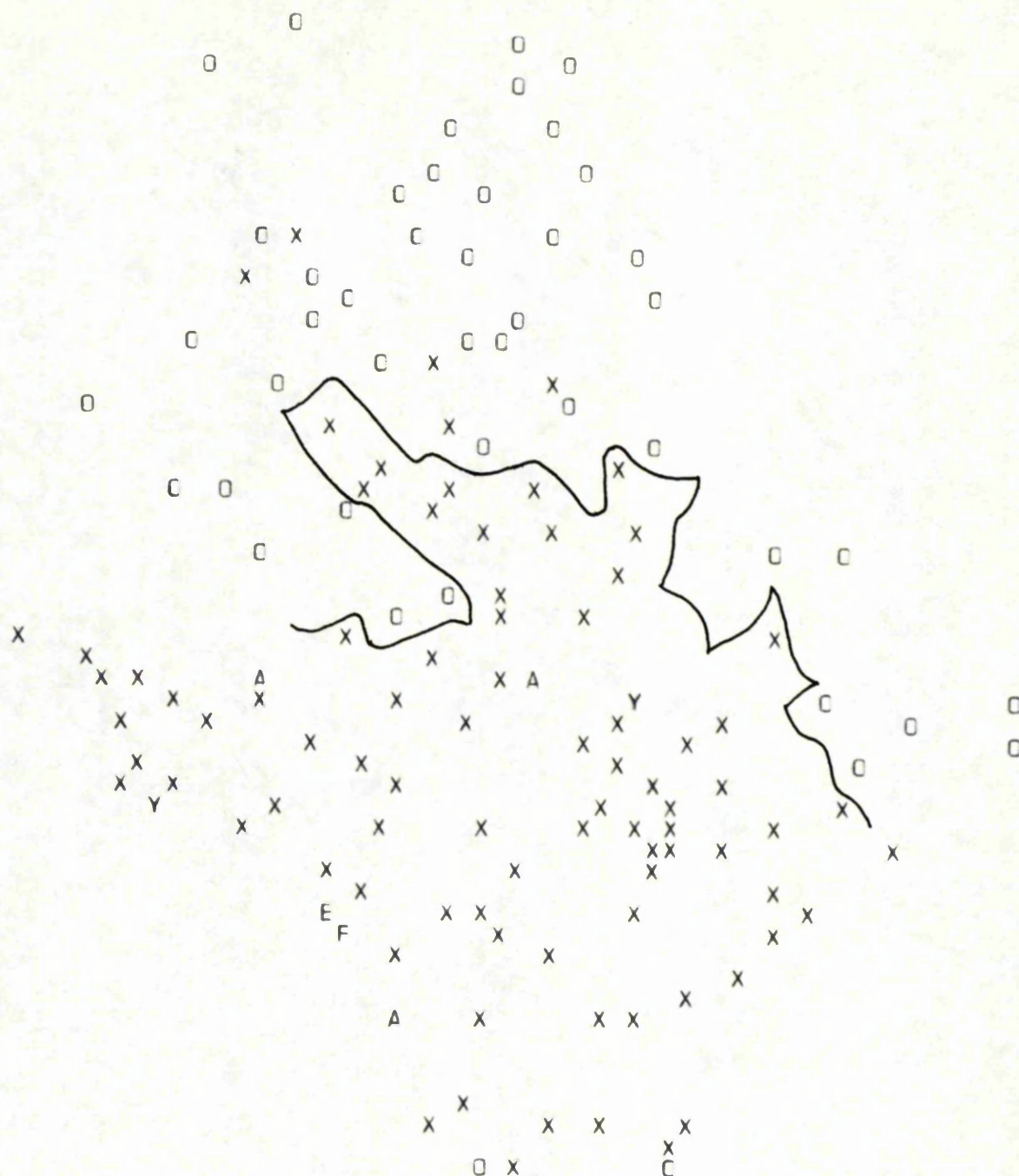
A [ahabwâ:tʃi]

S = [ahabwê:ntʃi] and O

O [ahâ:ntʃi]

E [ntʃi]

H [aharítʃi]



MAP 39
'Tomorrow'

X [pensákare]

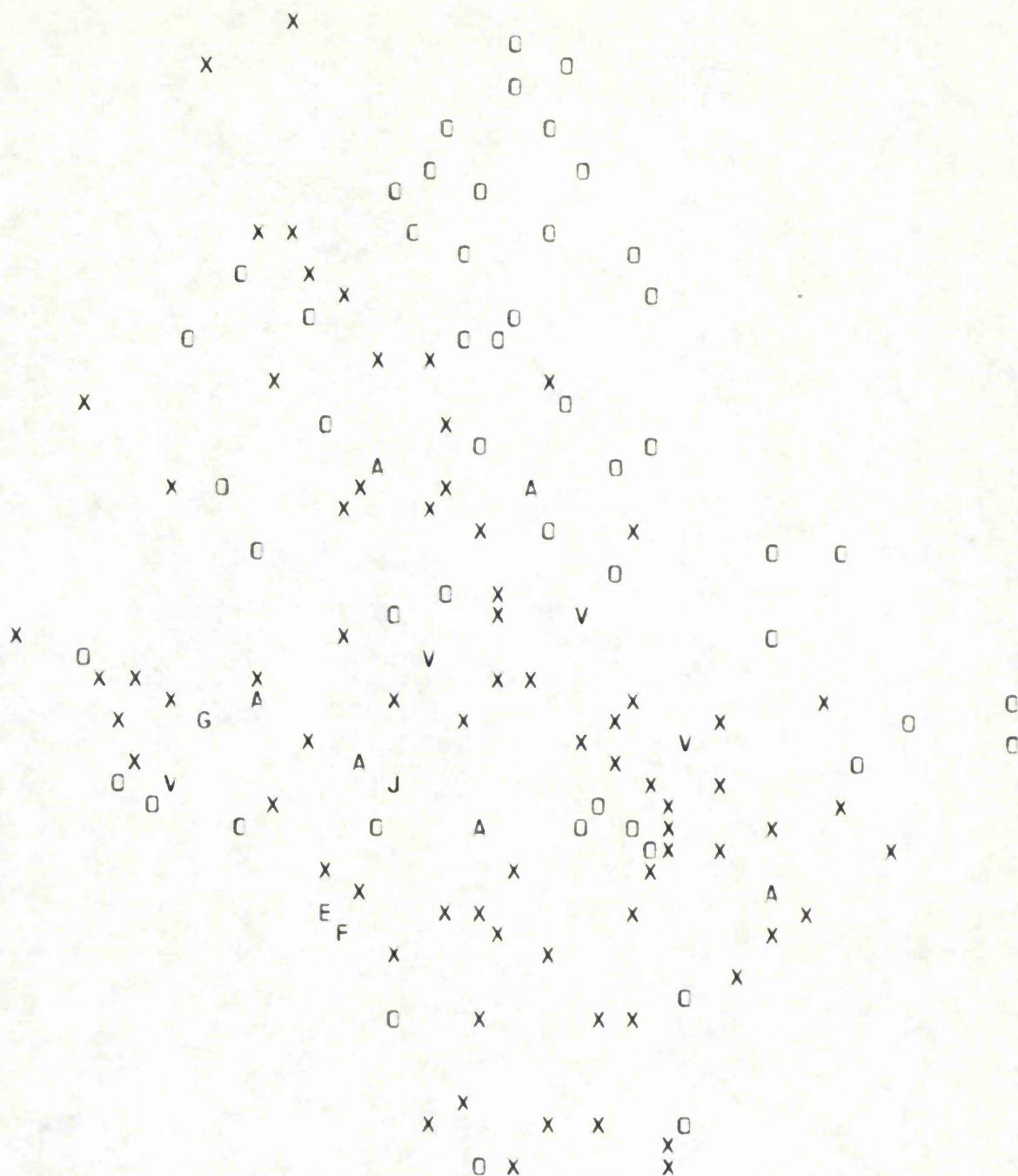
O [pentšákare]

Y [penšákare]

A [pensjákare]

E [mudzitš:ndo] and [nédzu]

F [mugitš:ndo]



MAP 40
'You (say) thus' ('It is so')

X [ó:sjo]

O [ó:tjo]

A [ó:so]

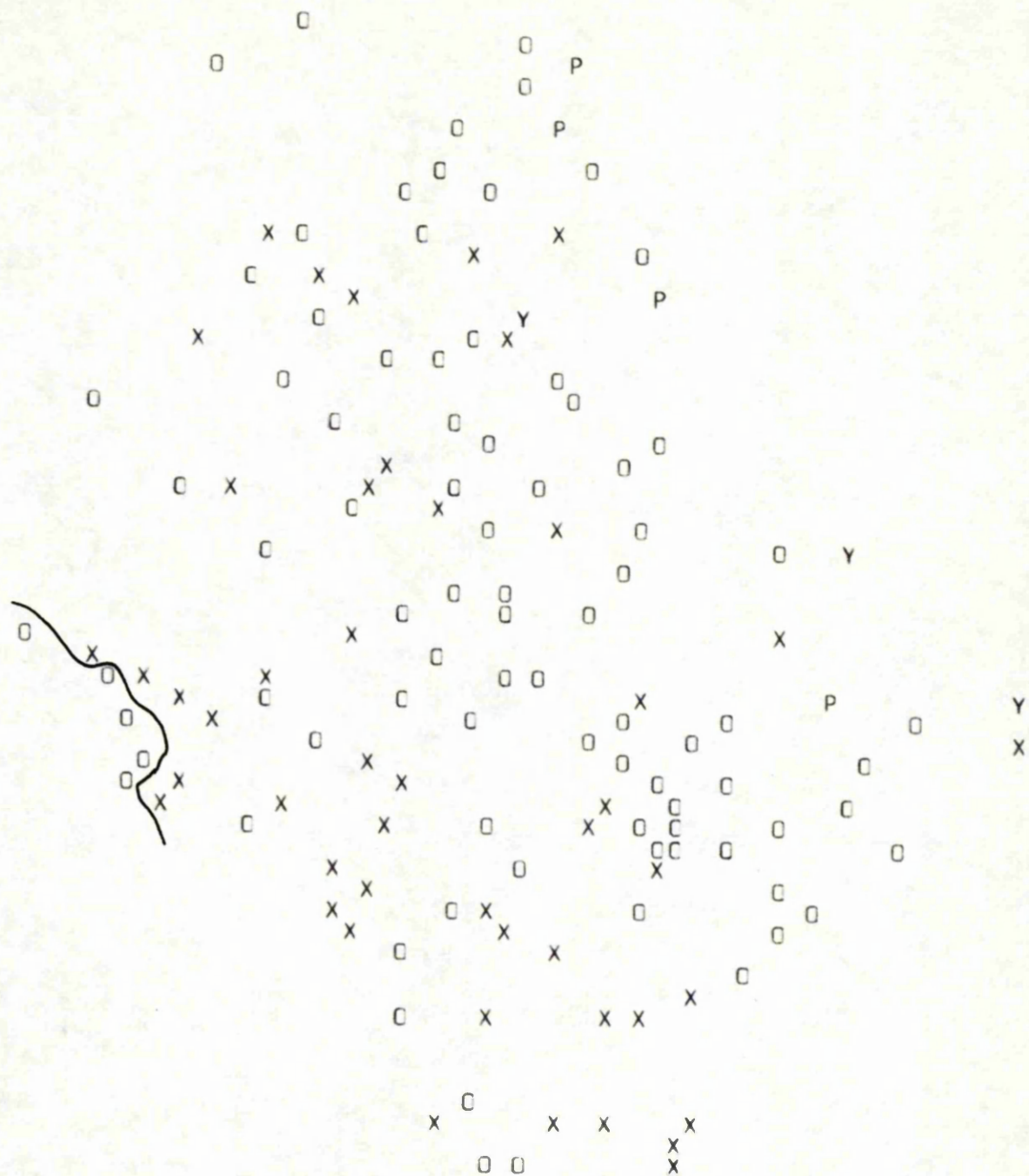
E [ɔtʃója]

F [ú:tʃo]

J [ɔsóje]

G [ó:tʃo]

V [ó:sko]



MAP 41

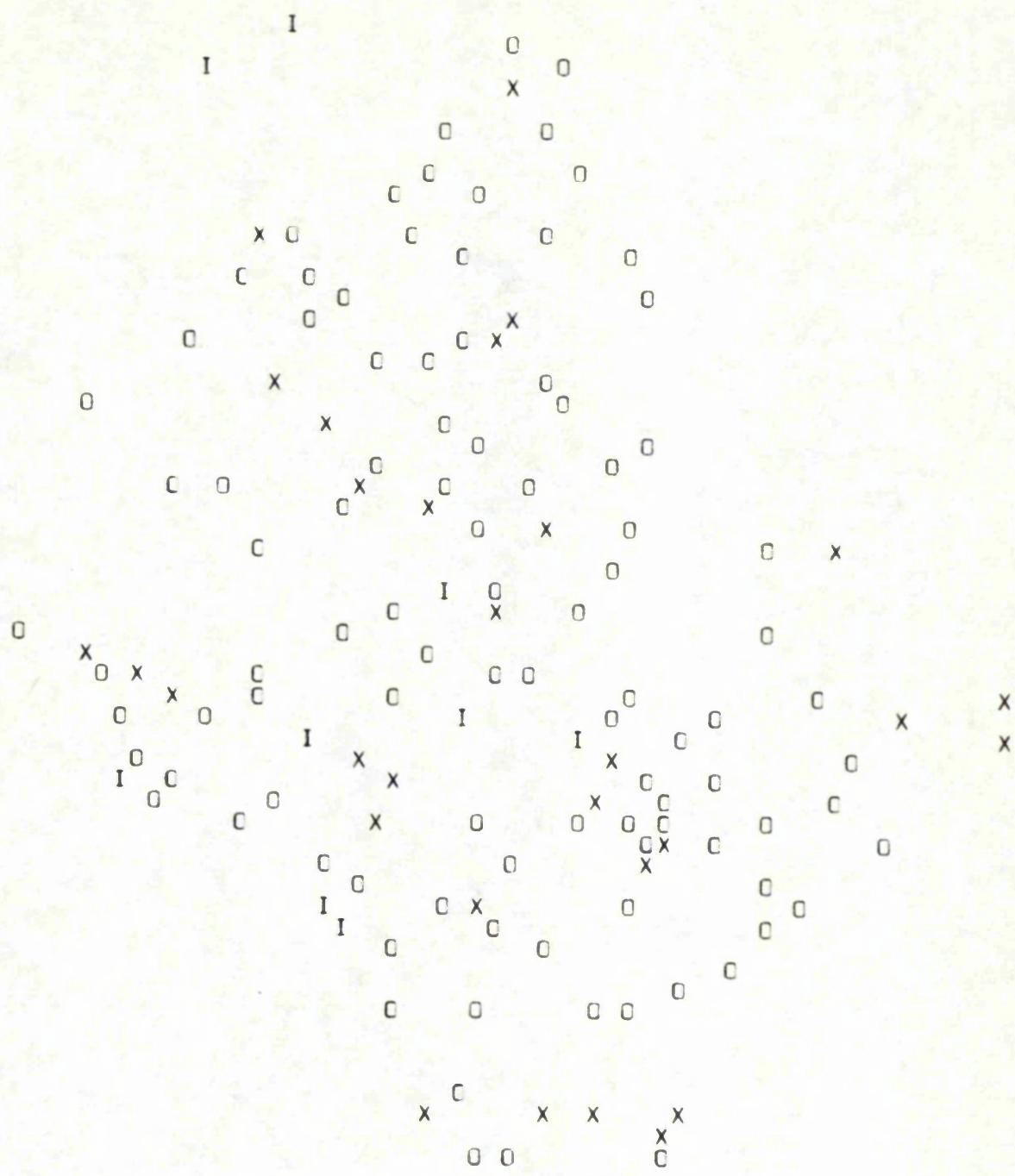
'Isn't it so?'

X [tukwó]

Y [tukwó]

O [tukwé]

P [tukwé]

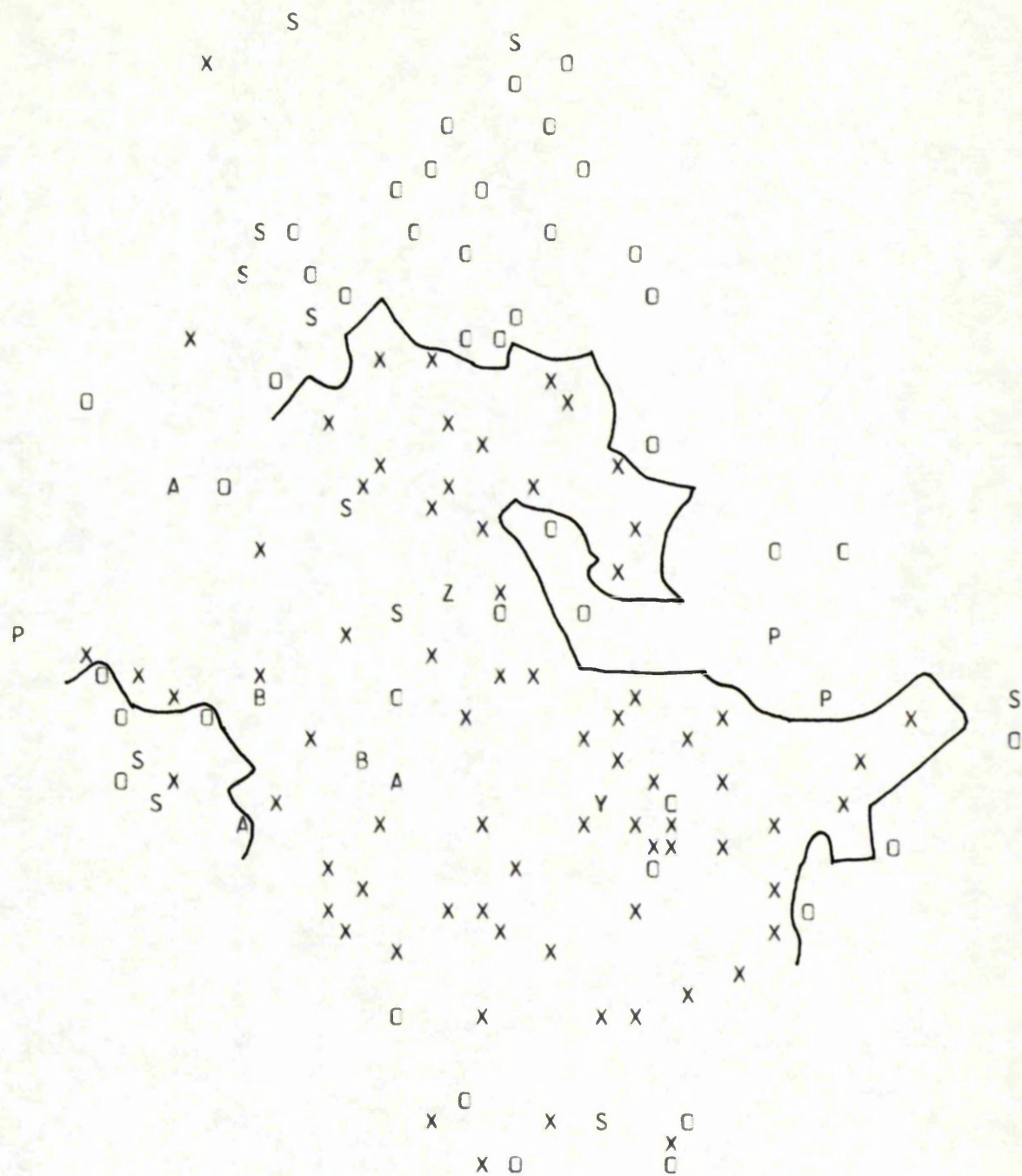


MAP 42

'That man' (not seen)

X [ɔmuʃeizɔ̃gwɔ]

O [ɔmuʃeizɔ̃gwe]



MAP 43
'Girl'

X [ɔmuhára]

O [ɔmwí:stɕi]

P [ɔmwí:stɕi]

Y = X and

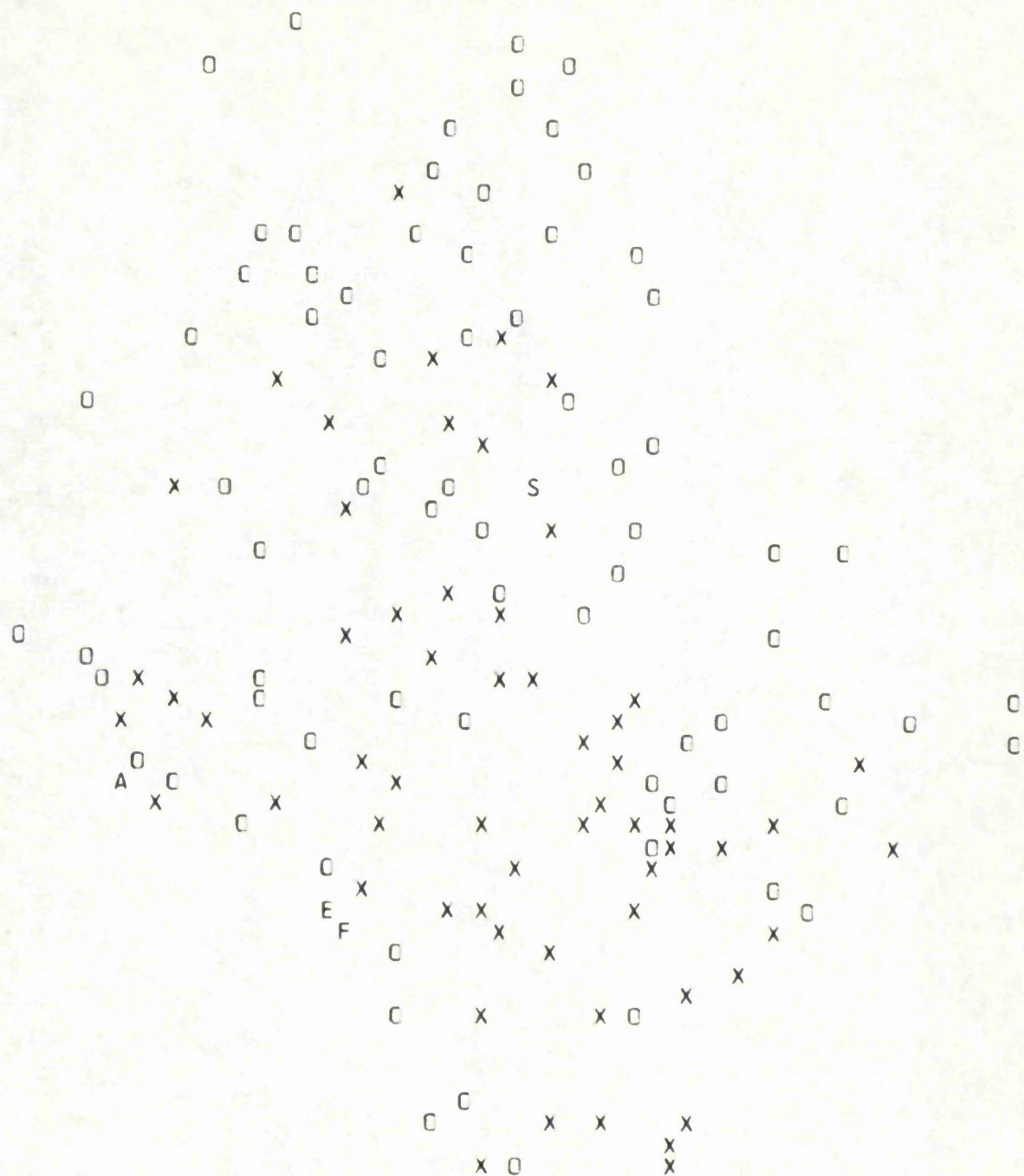
[mwí:stɕi we] (vocative)

A [ɔmwí:stɕi]

Z = X and Y 'daughter'

B [ɔmweí:stɕi]

S = X and O



MAP 44
'Beans'

X [ɛbɪhɪːmbo]

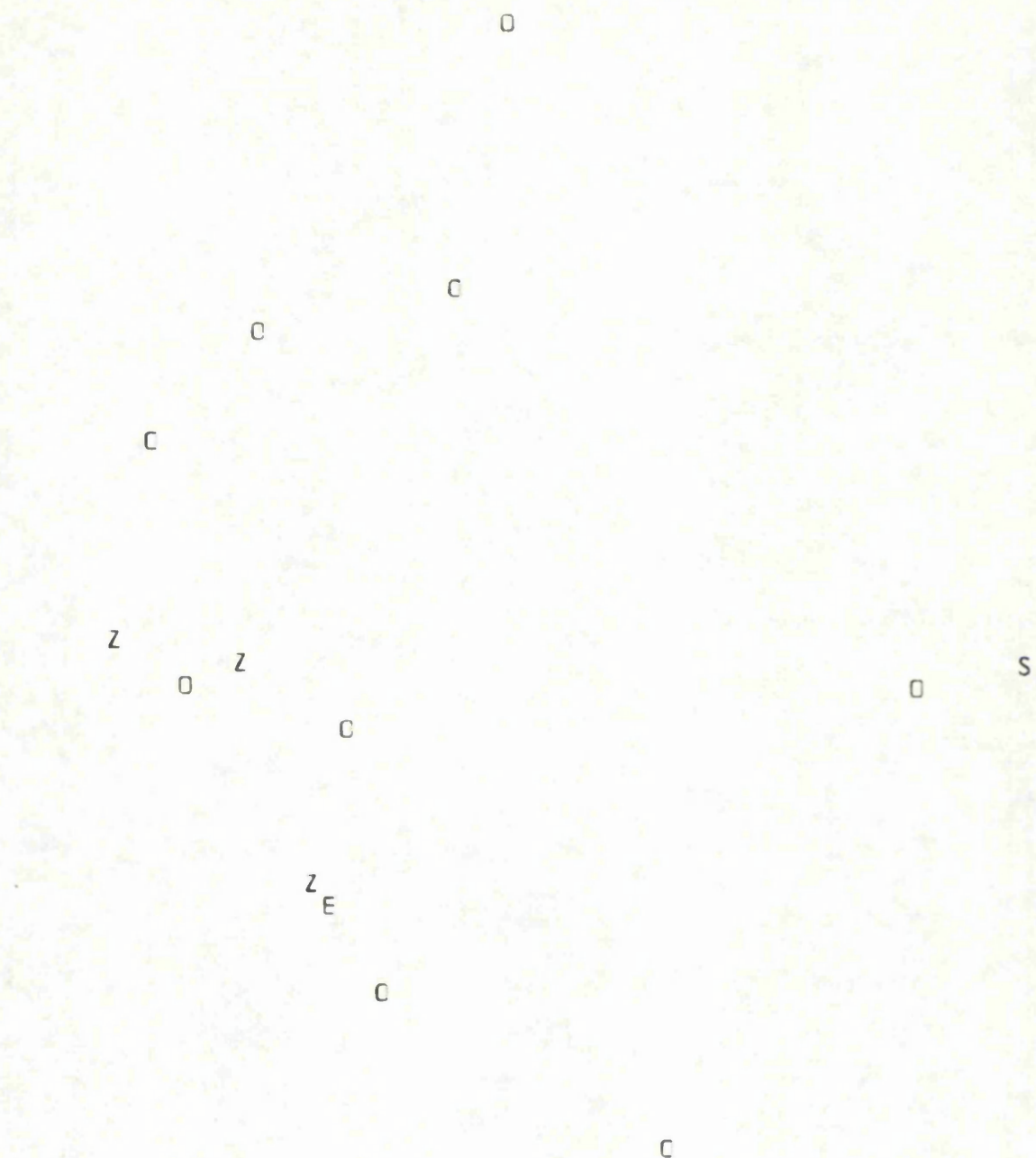
O [ɛbɪhɪːmba]

A [ɛbɪ(ɪːmbo)]

E [ɛbɪzanzáru]

F [ɛbɪzanzáru]

S = X and O



MAP 45
'Market'

Unmarked

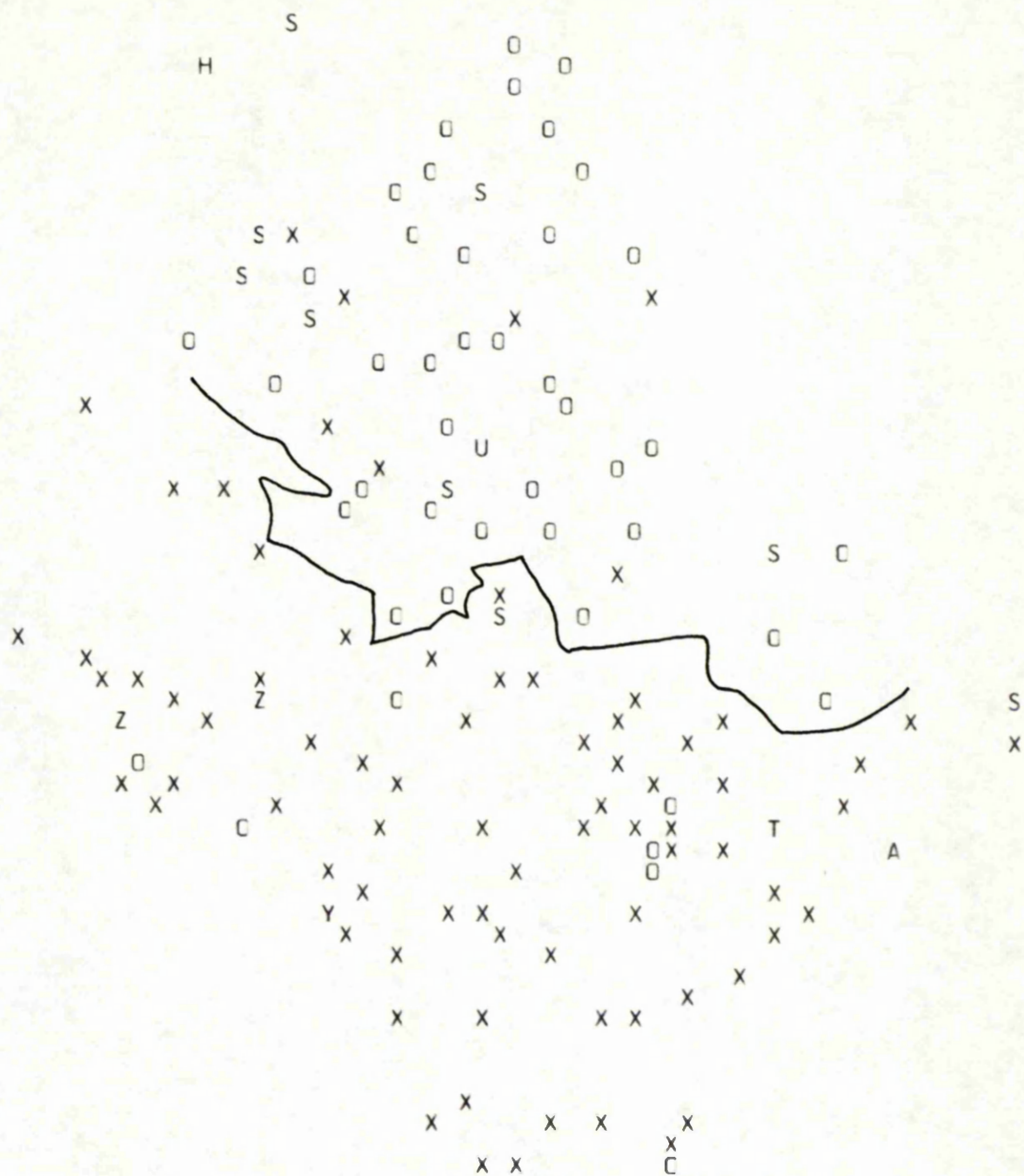
informants: [akátáre]

O [akazádziro]

Z [akátare]

S = [akátáre] and O

E [omusóko]



MAP 46
'Lion'

X [entáre]

Y [intáre]

Z [éntare]

A [emporogóma]

H [etʃɛnɔgú:si]

O [etʃitʃu:ntʃu]

T = X and O (very fierce)

U = X (masculine) and
O (feminine)

S = X and O

o
o
F
E
E

MAP 47
'Hoe'

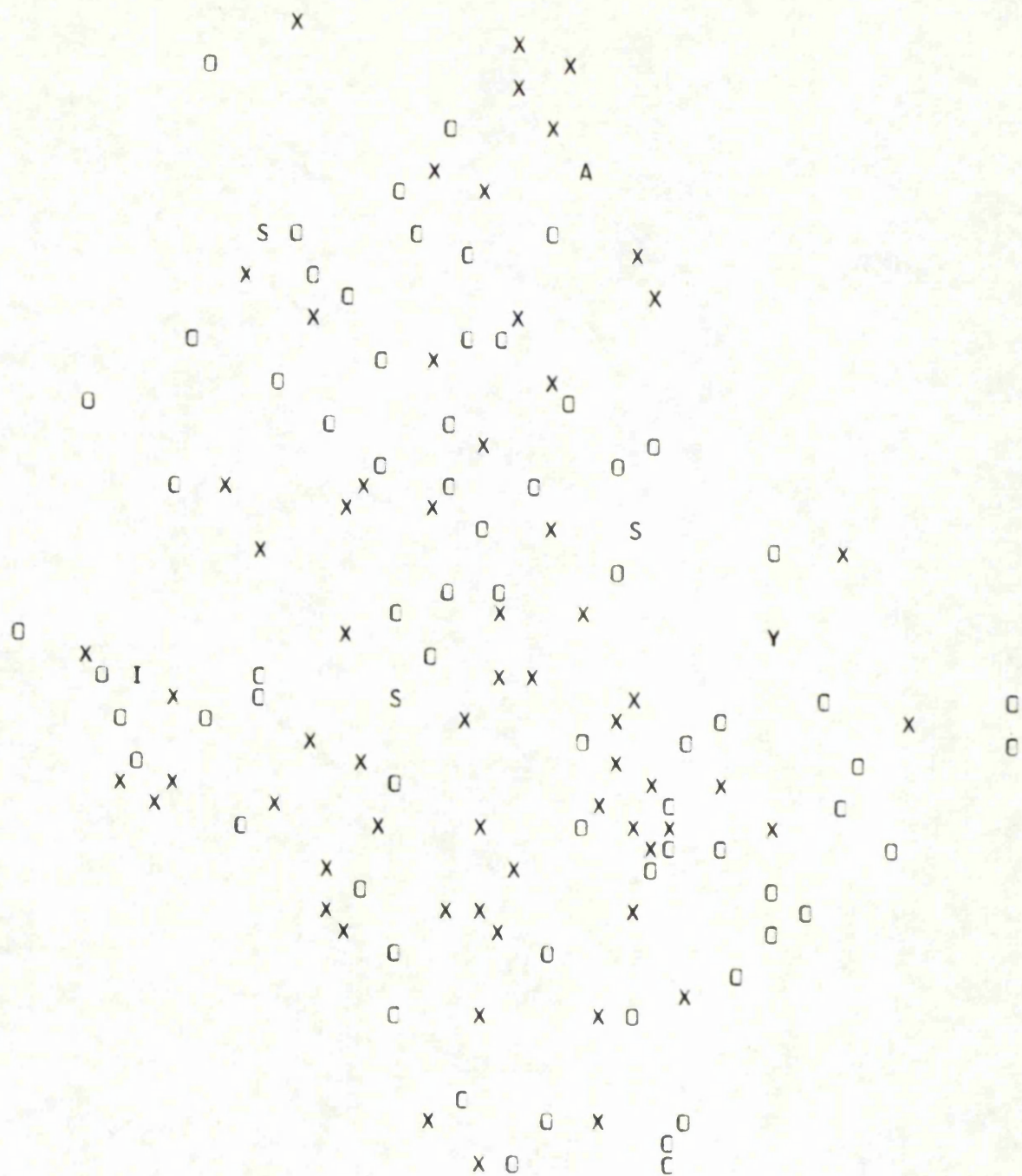
Unmarked

informants: [ɛfúka]

o [ɛnfúka]

E [ɛfúka]

F [ɛsúka]



MAP 48

'How are things?'

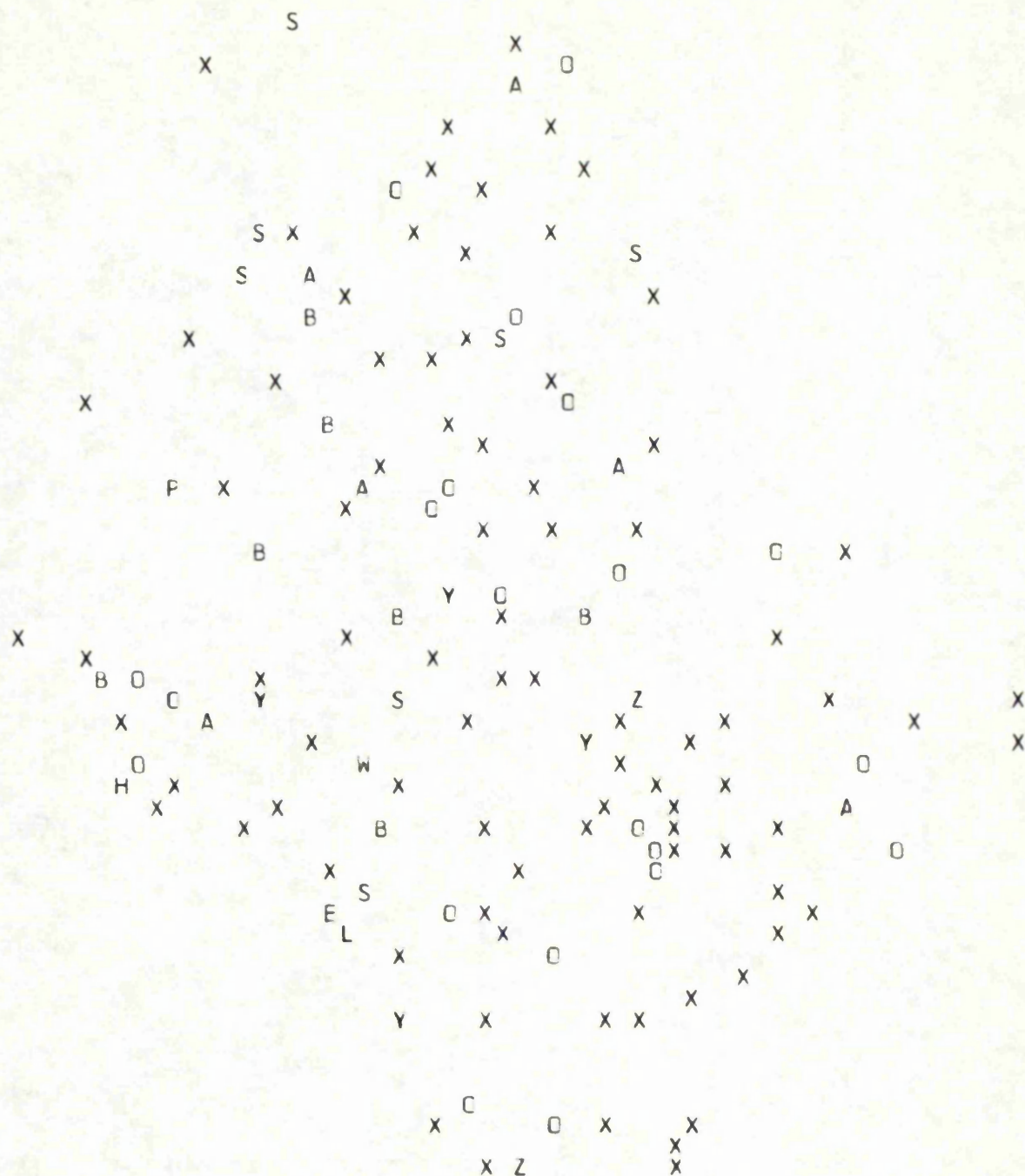
X [nigáhe]

O [nigáha]

Y [nigáhe]

S = X and O

A [nigáhe]

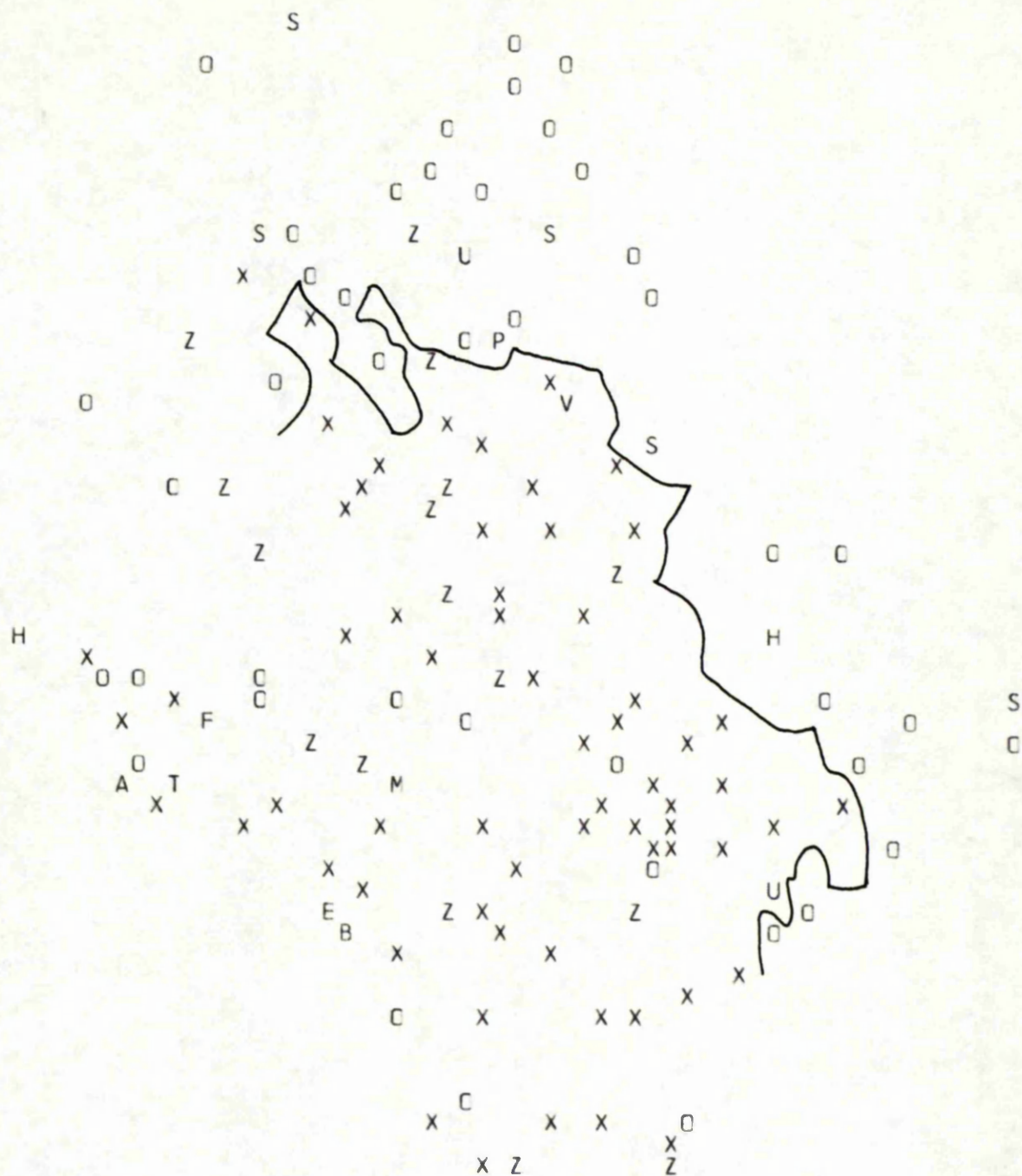


MAP 49

'Last week'

X [sabitehwêire]
 Y [esabitehwêire]
 Z [sabitehweirého]
 W [esabitewêire]
 A [sandehwêire]
 B [esandehwêire]
 S = X and A

O [sabitehiggwî:re]
 P [sabitehiggwî:re]
 E [sábitijaferére]
 H [sabiterásize]
 L [esabiterapéje]



MAP 50

'I slept' (Near Past)

X [nahu:ndzira]

Z [nahu:ndzira]

o [nagwezédzera]

P [nagwezédzera]

A [nasínzira]

B [gušéndzira] 'to sleep'

E [nahu:ndzéje]

F [nahu:ndzije]

H [nanádzira]

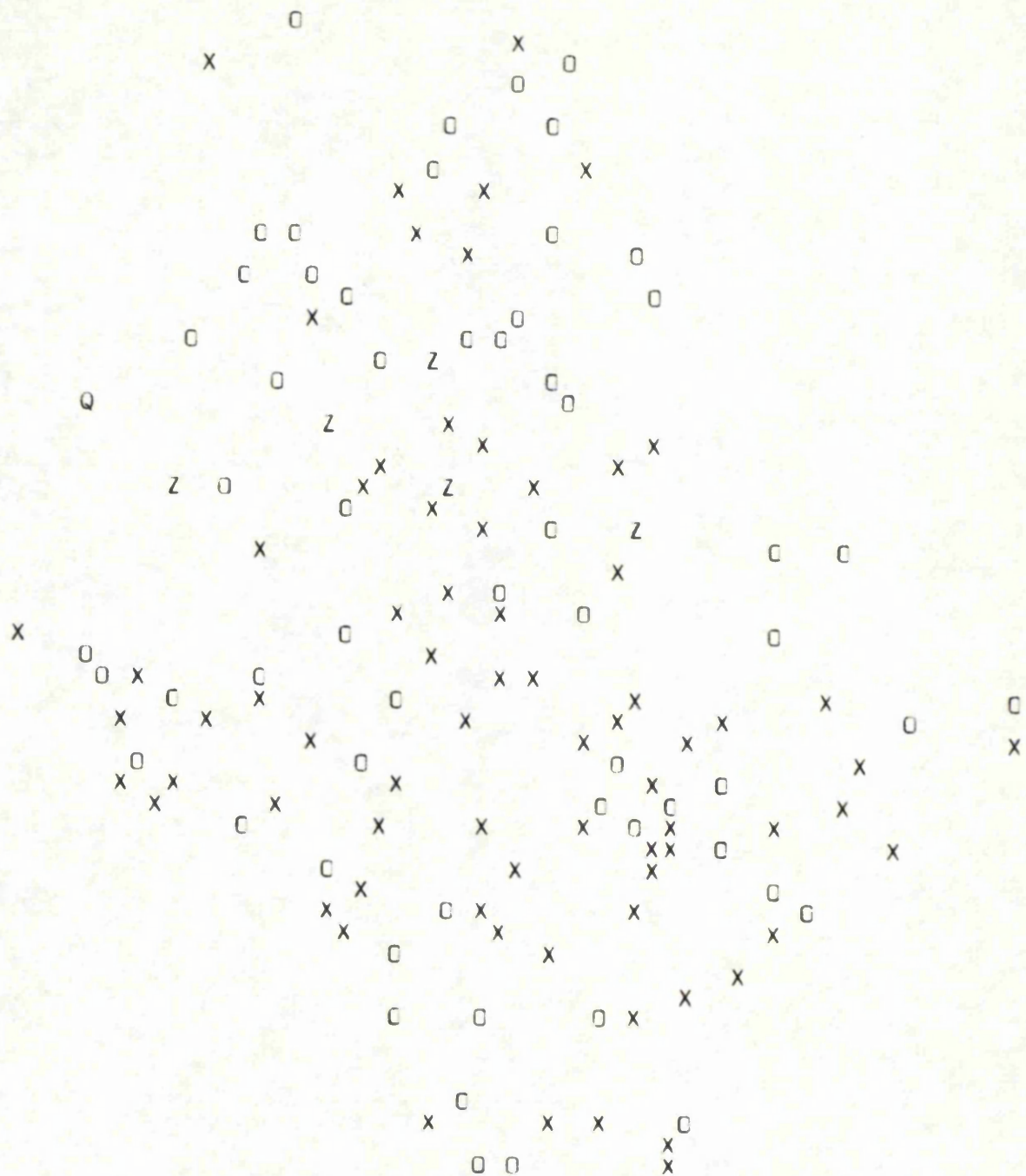
M [napâ:ma]

S = X and O

T = X, O and [nagwezádzira]

U = X (dozed) and O (slept fully)

V = X (lay in bed; slept in chair) and O



MAP 51

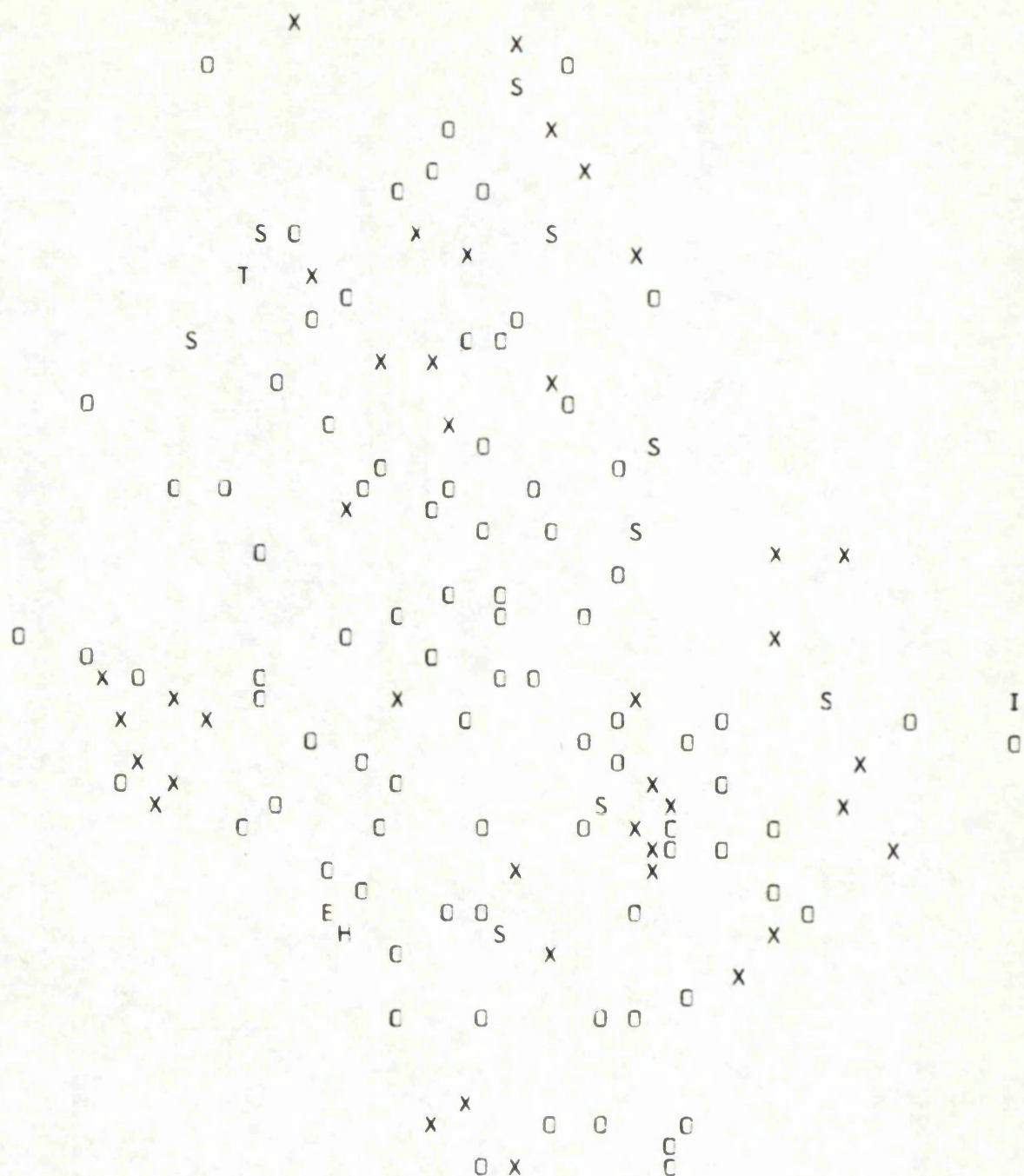
'I showed him' (Near Past)

x [namwéréka]

o [namwóréka]

z [namweréka]

Q [namwsréka]



MAP 52

'I finished' (Near Past)

X [nahéza]

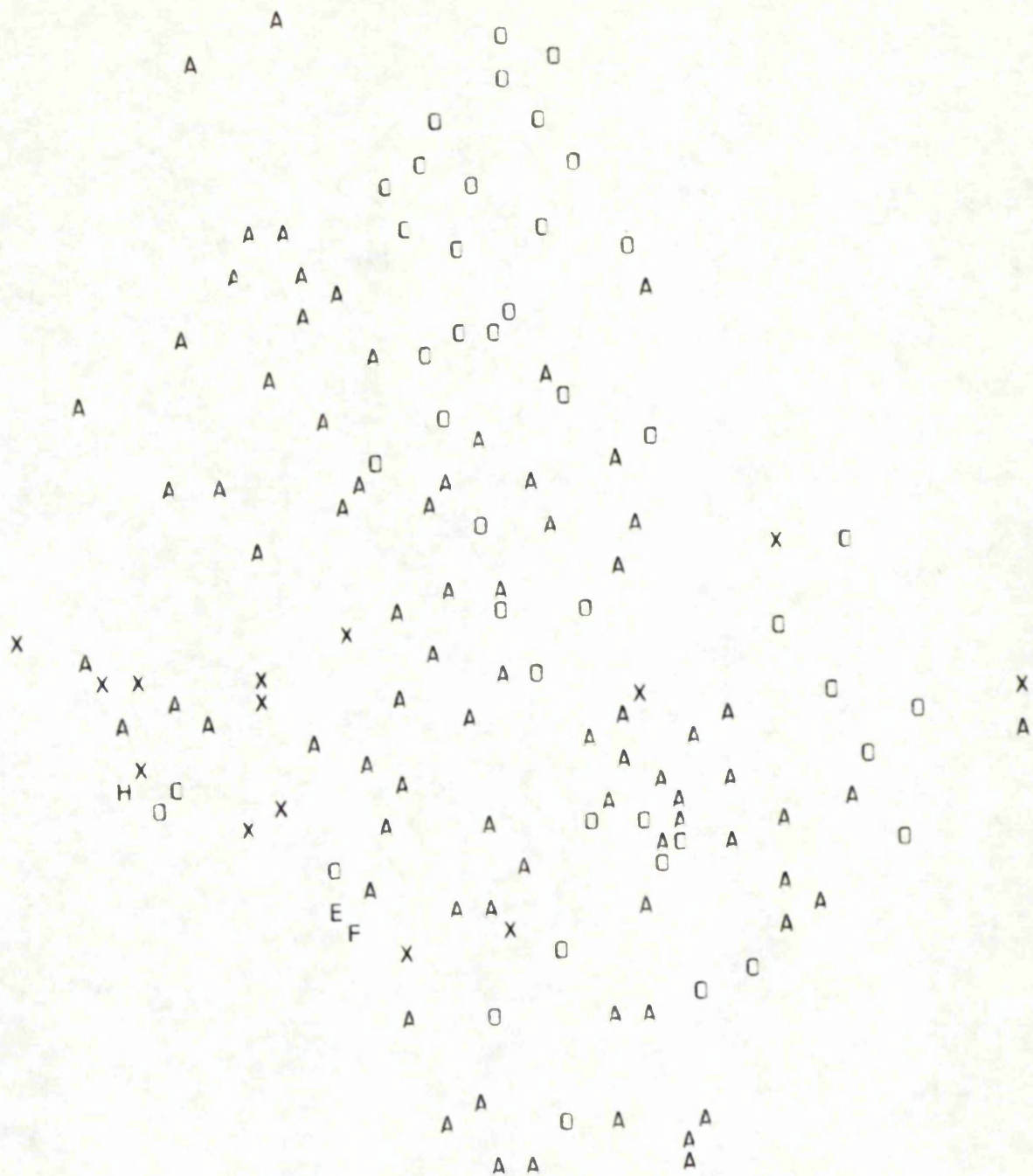
O [namara]

S = X and O

E [namádza]

T = O (after eating) and
X (otherwise)

H [ndarandzize]



MAP 53

'Far Side'

X [enséri]

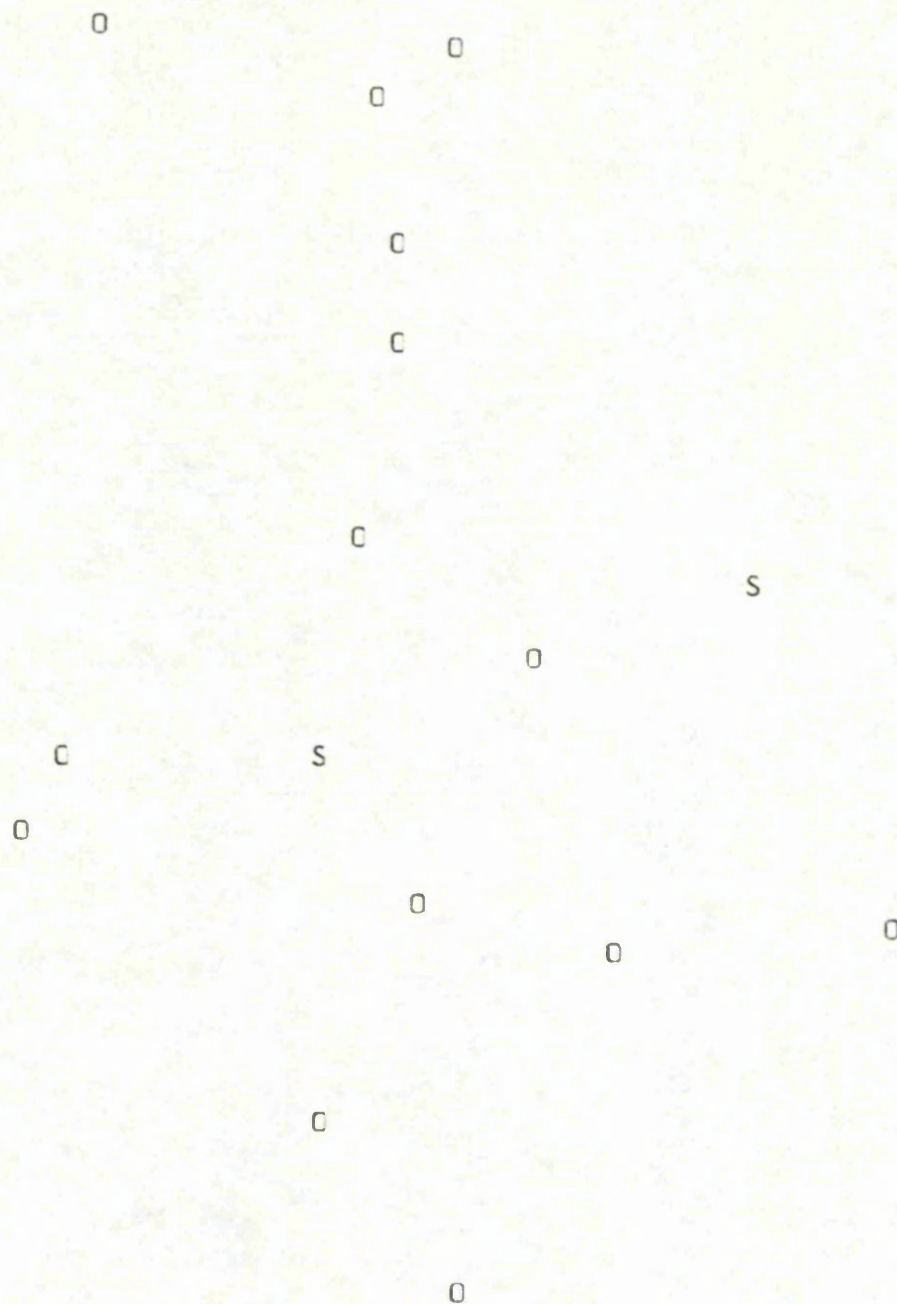
o [séru]

A [eséri]

E [hakúrja]

F [hákurja]

H [enséno]



MAP 54

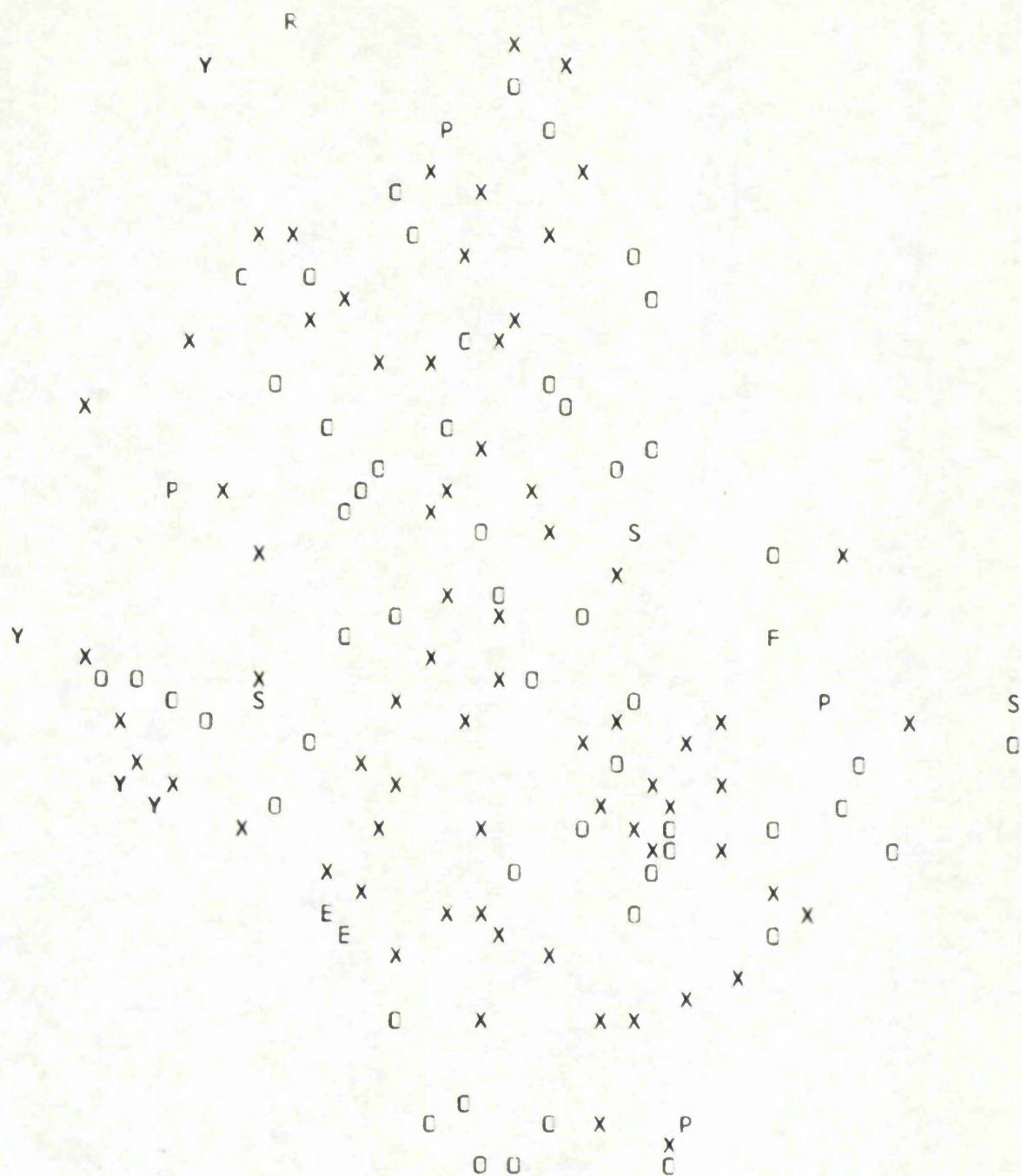
'The Bakiga (etc.) of old'

Unmarked

informants : [abatjiga (etc.) bakáre]

O [abatjiga (etc.) bêira]

S = [abatjiga (etc.) bakáre] and O



MAP 55

'Box'

X [eʃandú:ko]

Y [eʃandú:ko]

E [eʃandú:kwe]

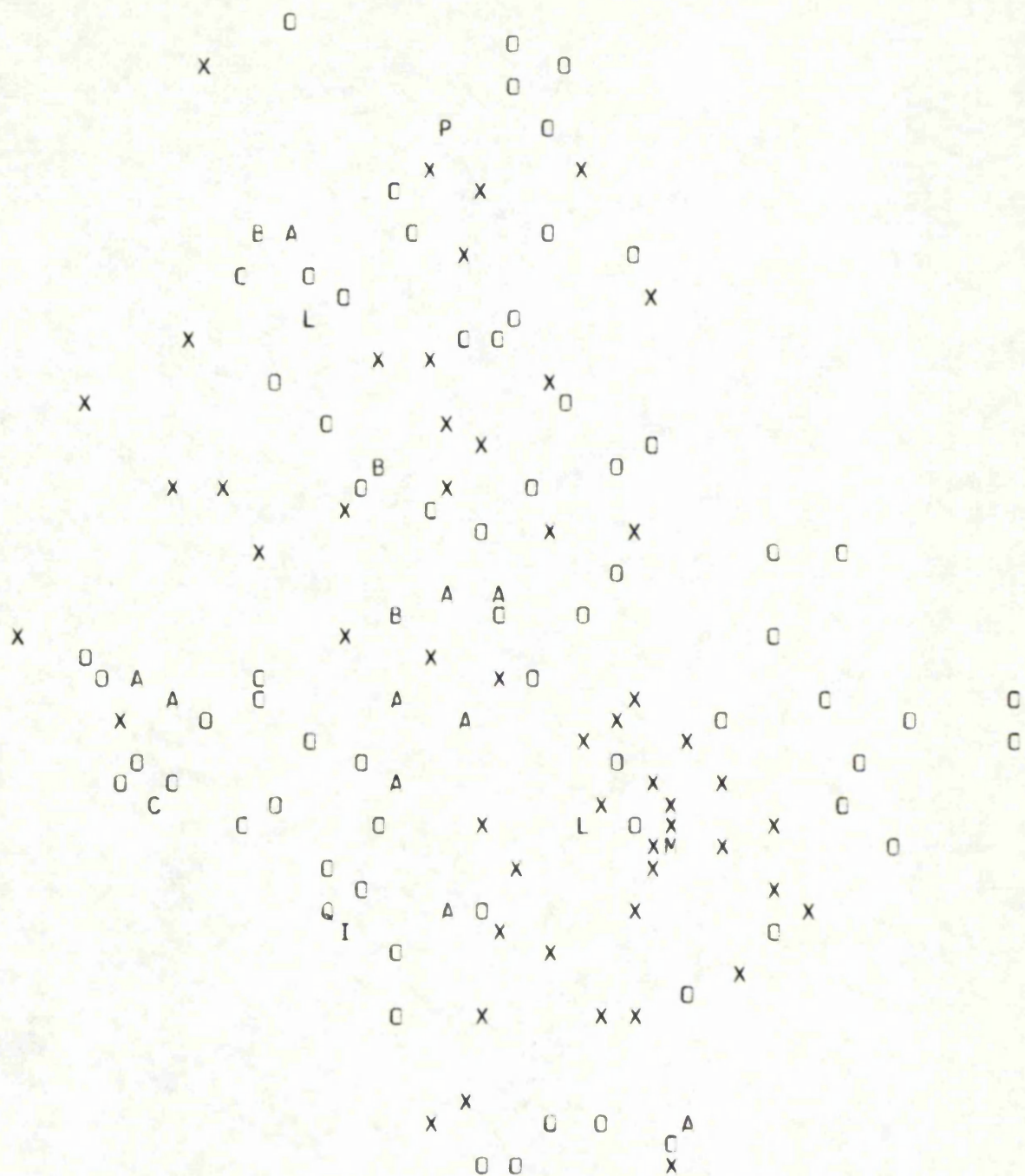
F [eʃandú:ke]

O [eʃandú:tʃe]

P [eʃandú:tʃe]

R [eʃandú:tʃe]

S = X and O



MAP 56
'Brewer'

X [ɔmuhiːsɪ]

O [ɔmuhiːsə]

P [ɔmuhiːsɔ]

Q [ɔguhiːsə]

A [ɔmwɛːndʒɪ]

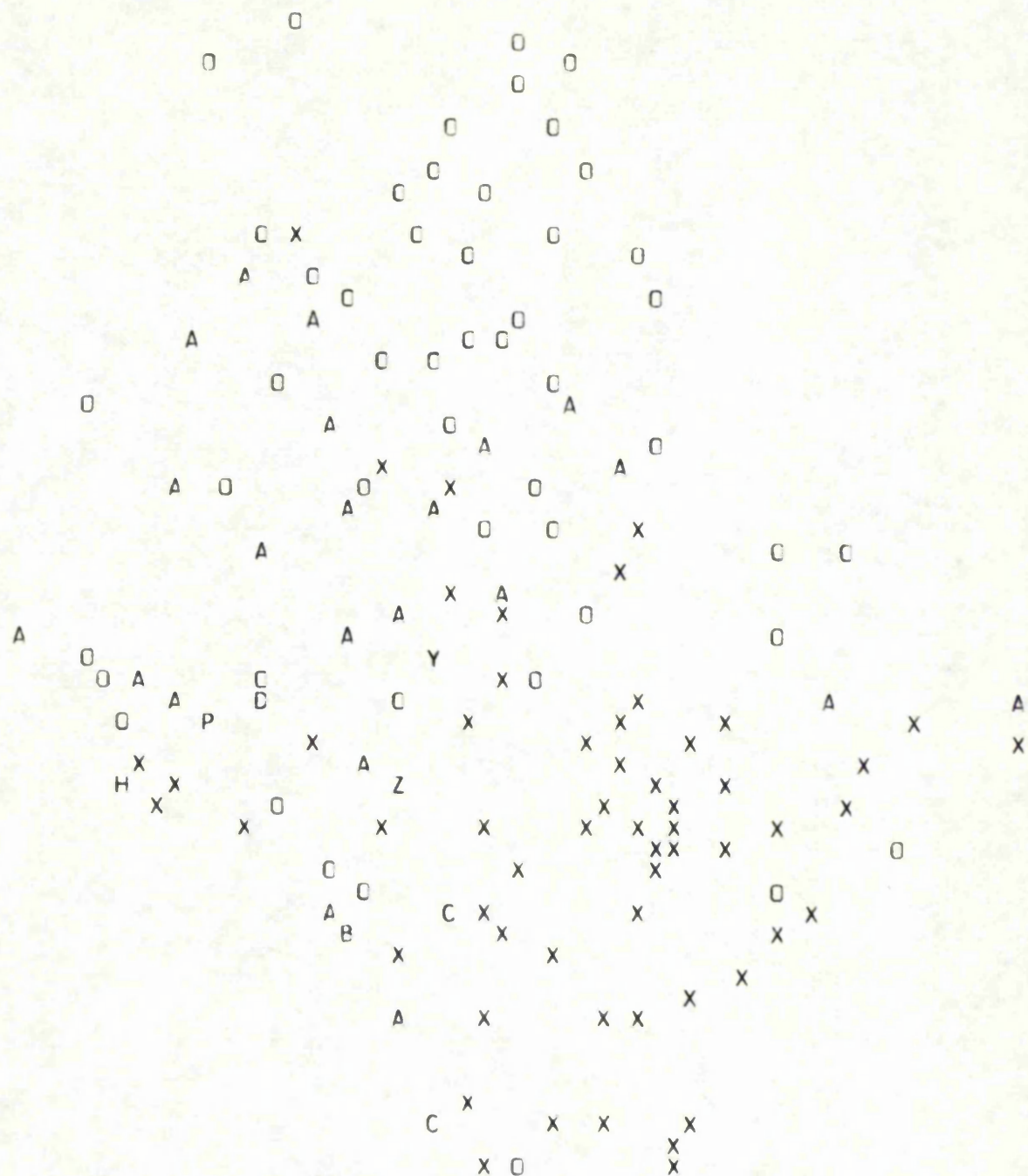
B [ɔmwɛːndʒe]

C [ɔmwɛːnɪ]

L [ɔhiːsɪze]

M no word

} with denial
of X and O



MAP 57
'Broom'

X [εbjéjo]
Y [εrjéjo]
Z [εdzéjo]

o [εbjéjerezo]
P [εrjéjereza]

H [εmíkúbuzo]

A [εbikándózo]
B [εrikándózo]
C [εmikándózo]
D [εmikándóza]

} with denial
of X and O

O

O

Z

T O

O

O

O

O

Z

MAP 58
'Bull'

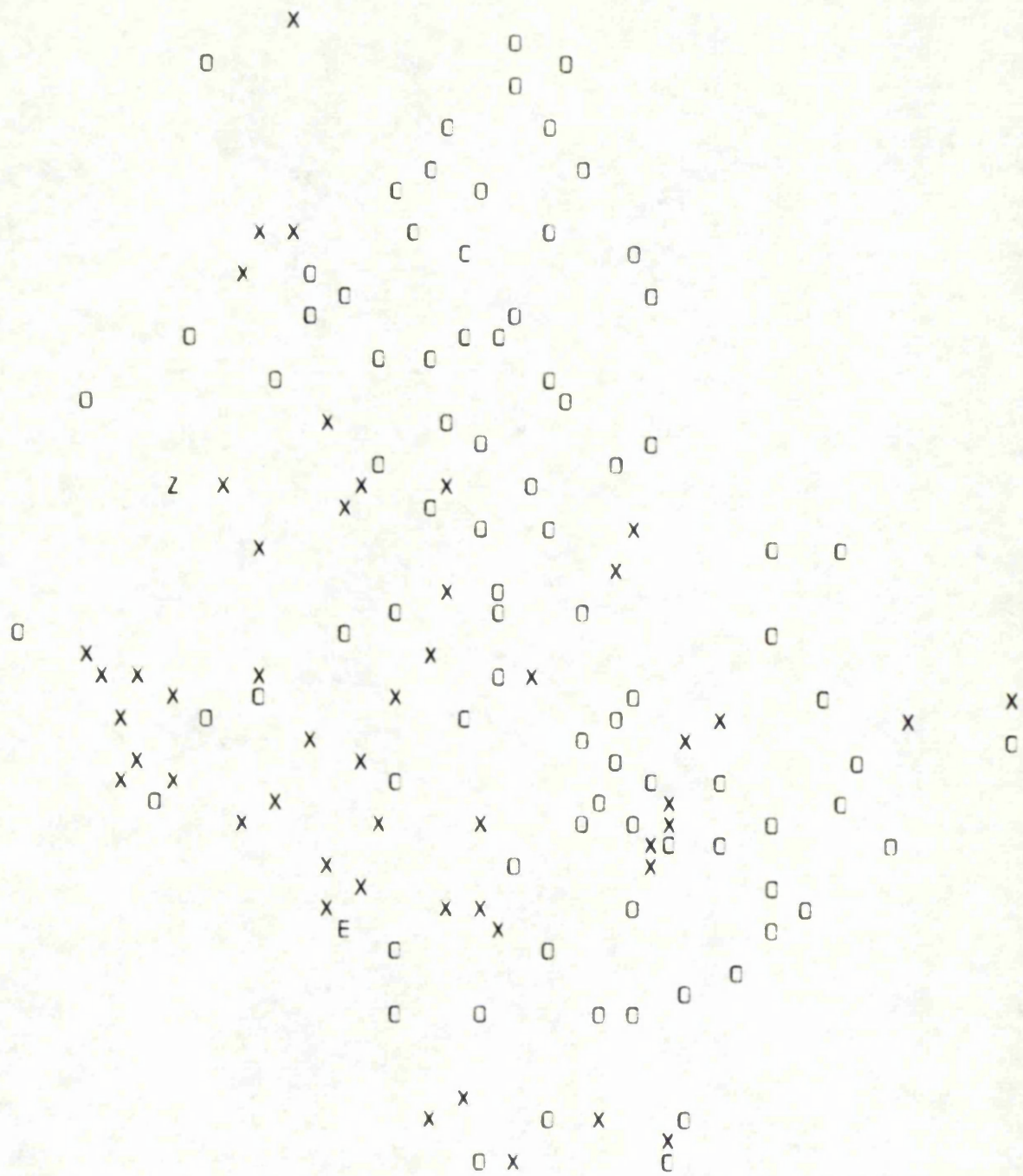
Unmarked

informants : [ɛnúmɪ]

Z [énumɪ]

O [ɛními]

T=[ɛnúmɪ] (singular) and
O (plural)



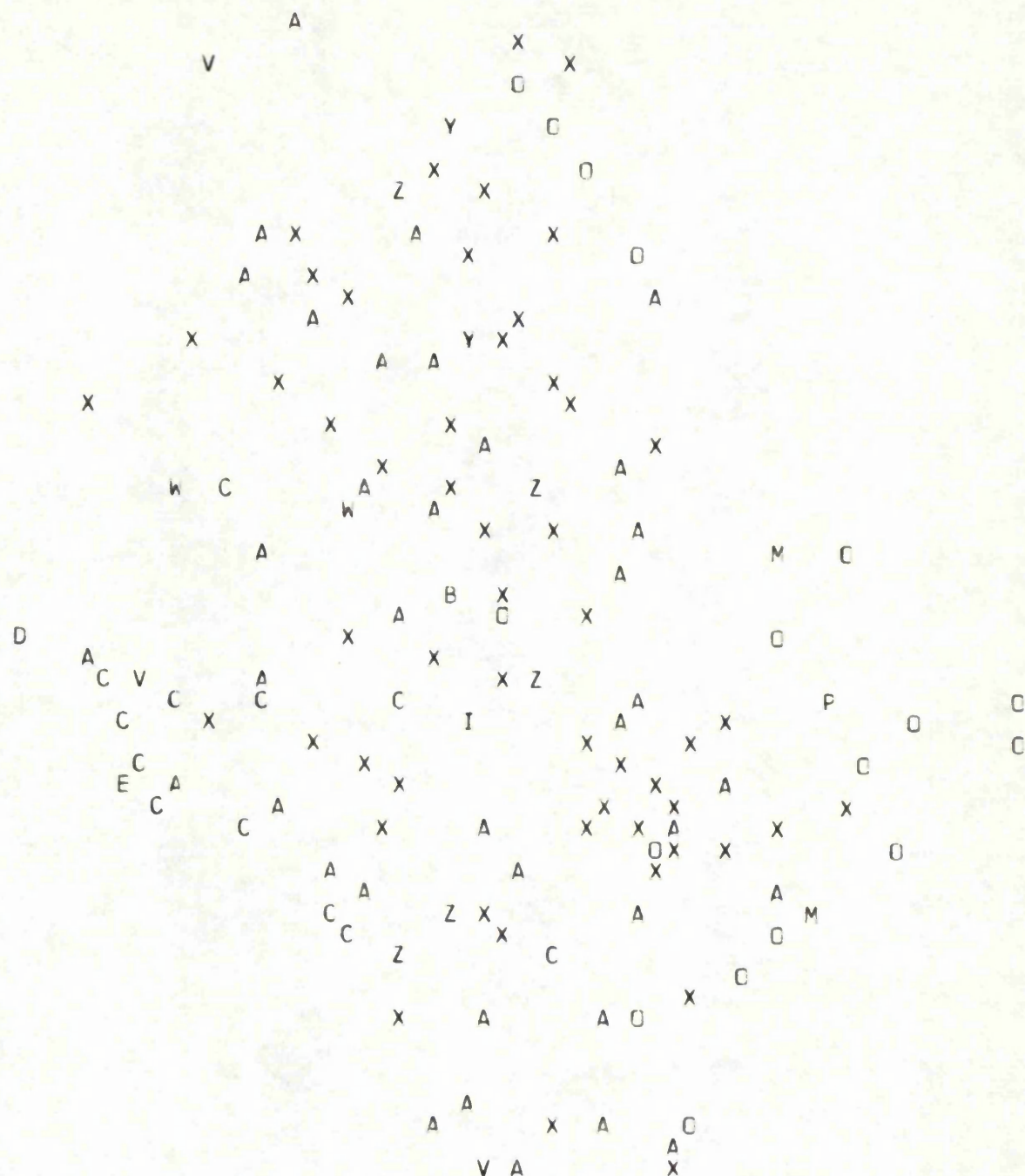
MAP 59
'Calf'

X [εράνα]

Z [έρανα]

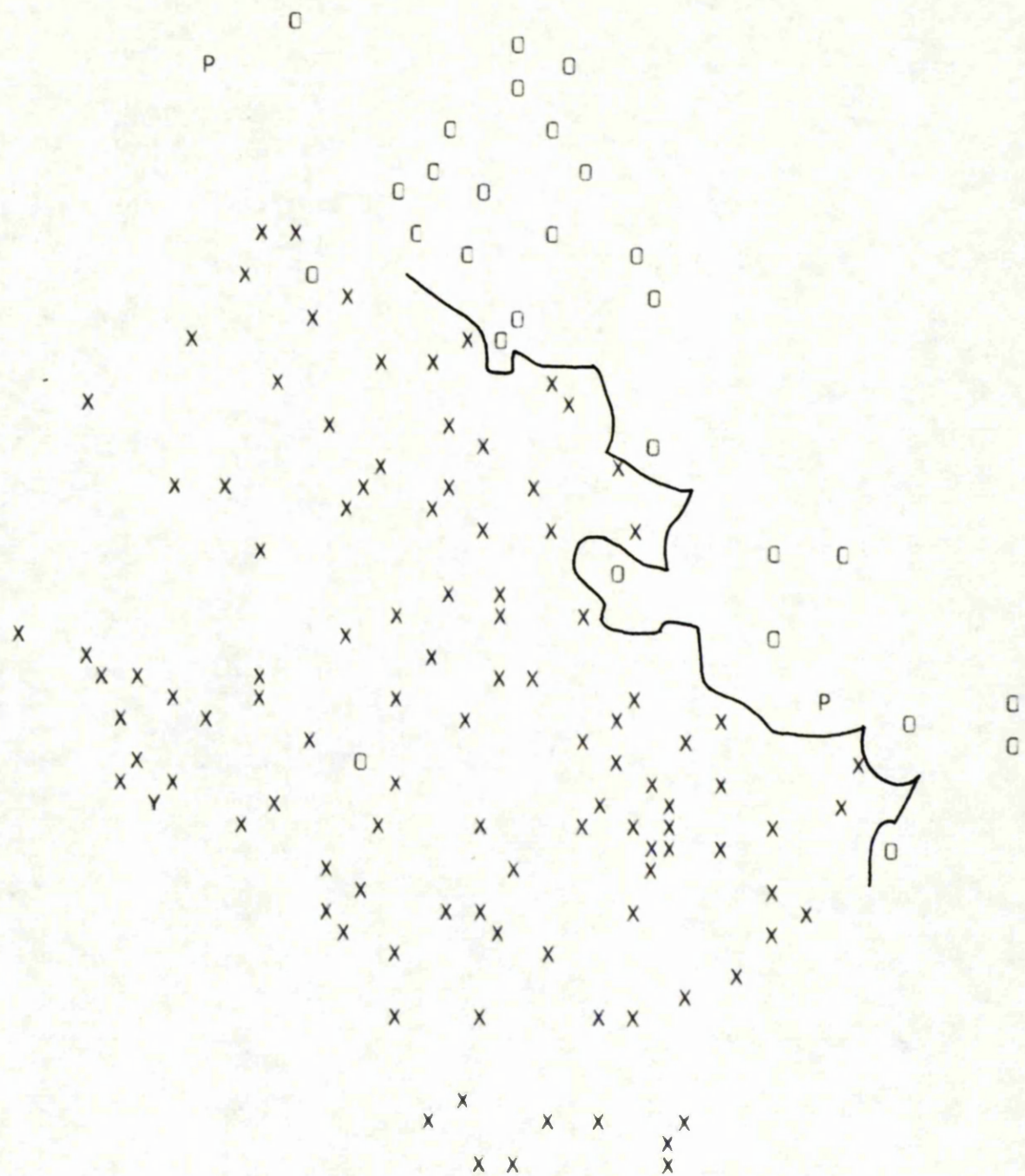
E [εmutanu]

O [ερένα]



MAP 60
'Cricket'

x [εzérere] w [edzérere] o [εzére] m [εnzére]
 y [εzérere] p [εzére]
 z [εzεrére]
 A [εnzérere]
 B [εndzérere]
 C [εnzεrére]
 D [εnzεrére]
 E [εnzurére]
 F [ɔruzerére]
 V [εtɕuzérere]



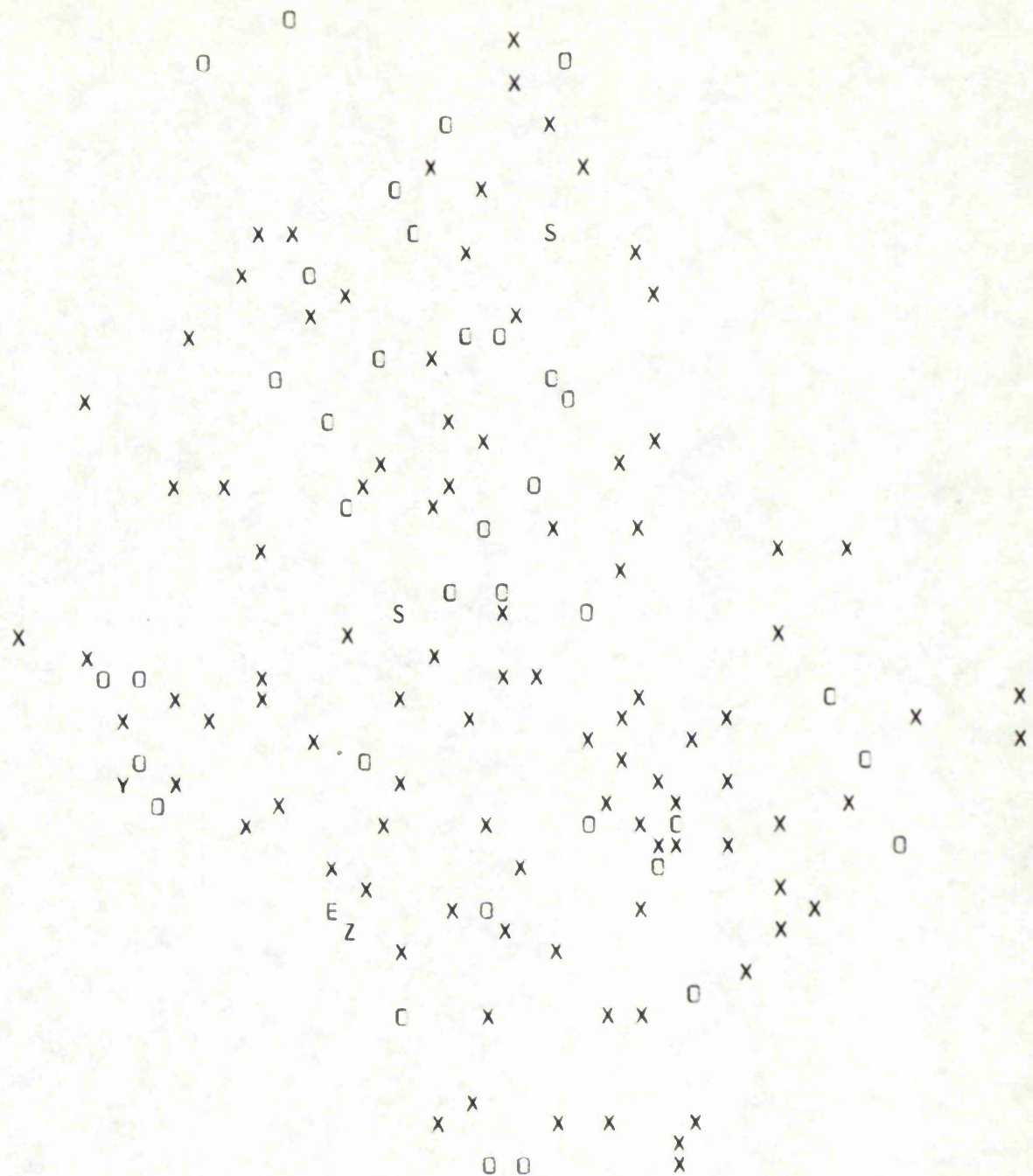
MAP 61
'Dung'

x [amáfe]

y [amáse]

o [amá(a)]

p [amása]



MAP 62

'The fourth month'

X [ɔkwézi kwa kána]

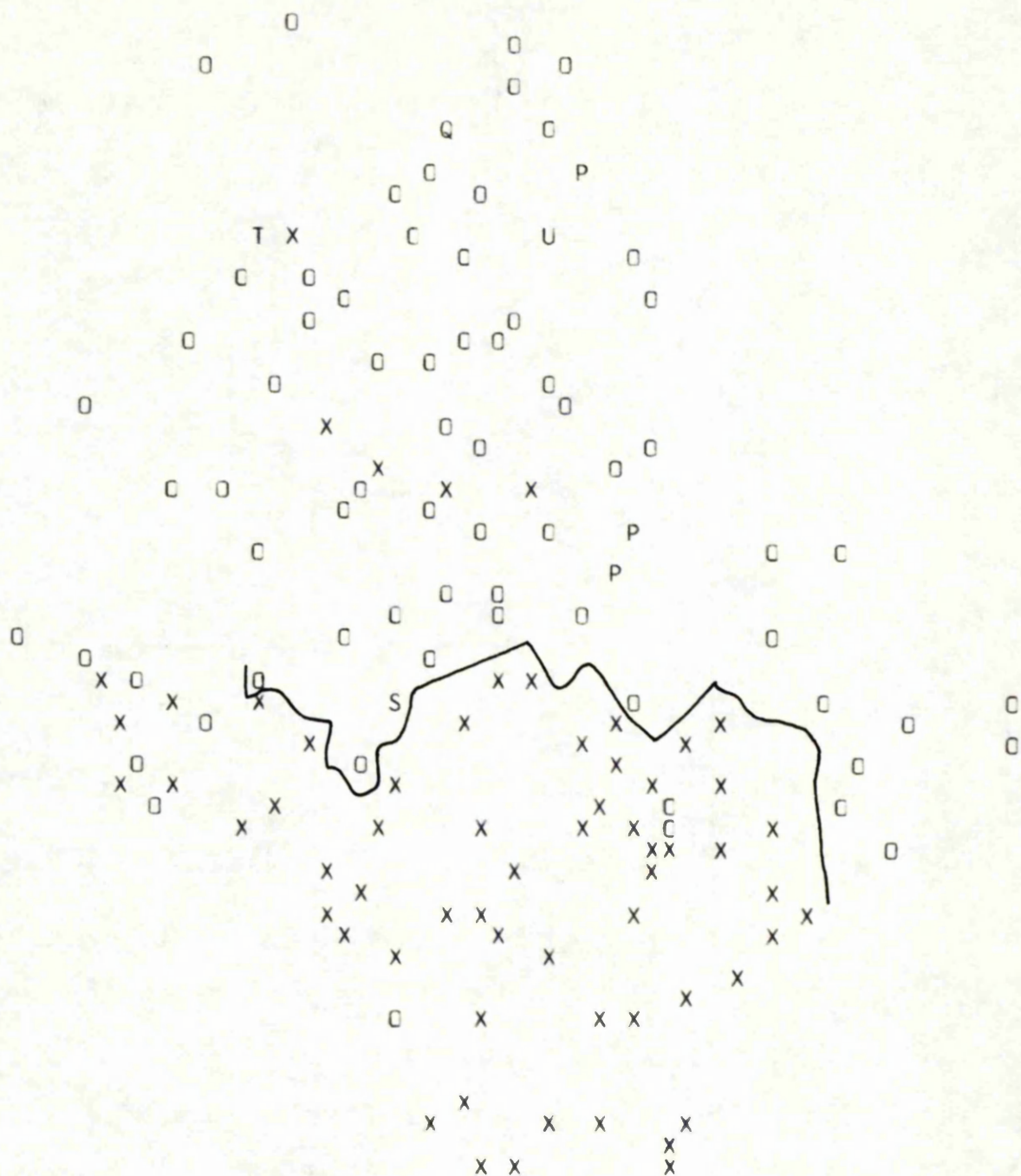
O [ɔmwézi gwa kána]

Y [ɔkwézi kwa káne]

Z [ɔkwézi kwa káne]

S = X and O

E [ɔkwédzi] 'month'



MAP 63
'Nest'

X [etjár]

O [etjásur]

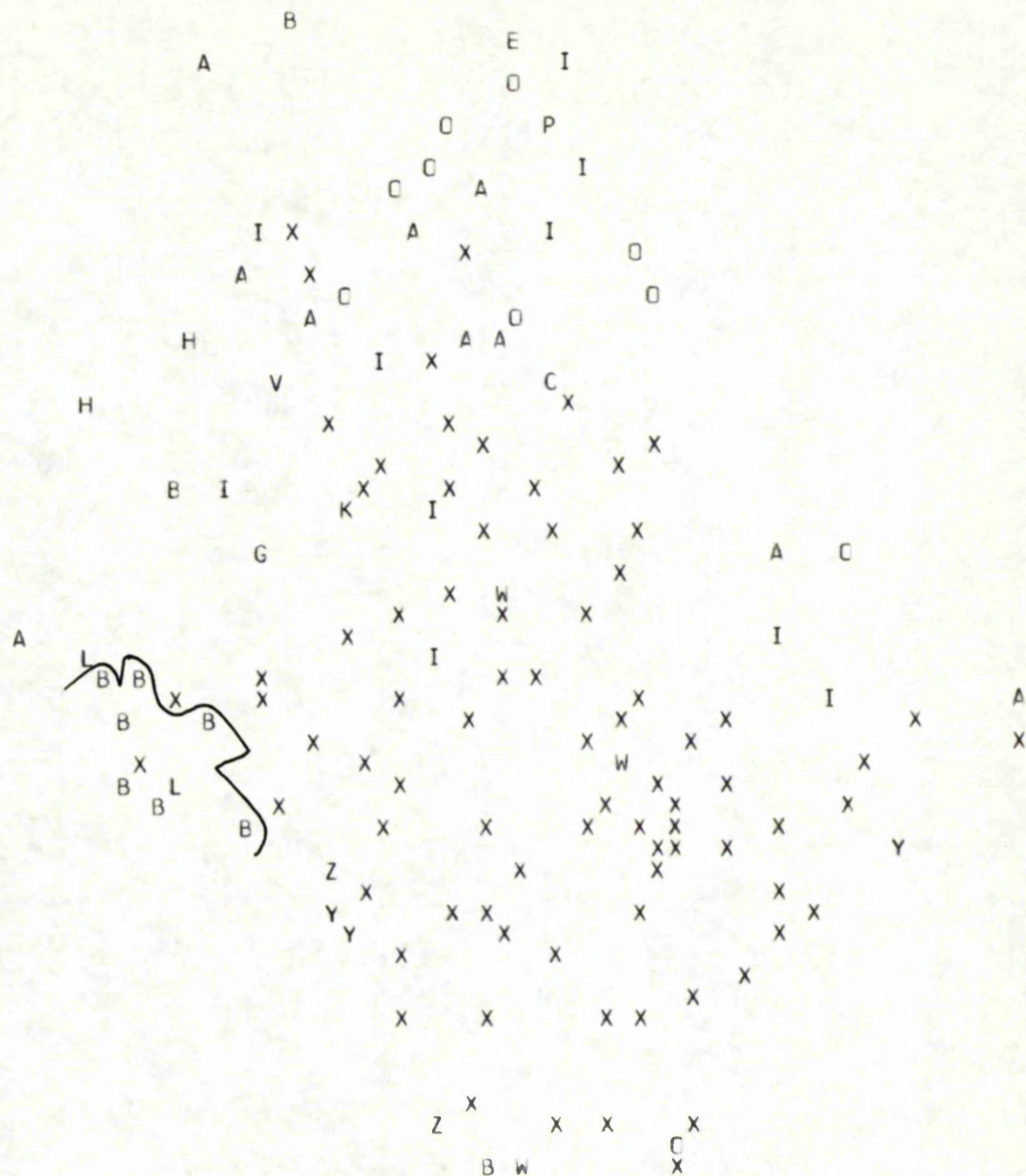
P [etjásur]

Q [etjásur]

S = X and O

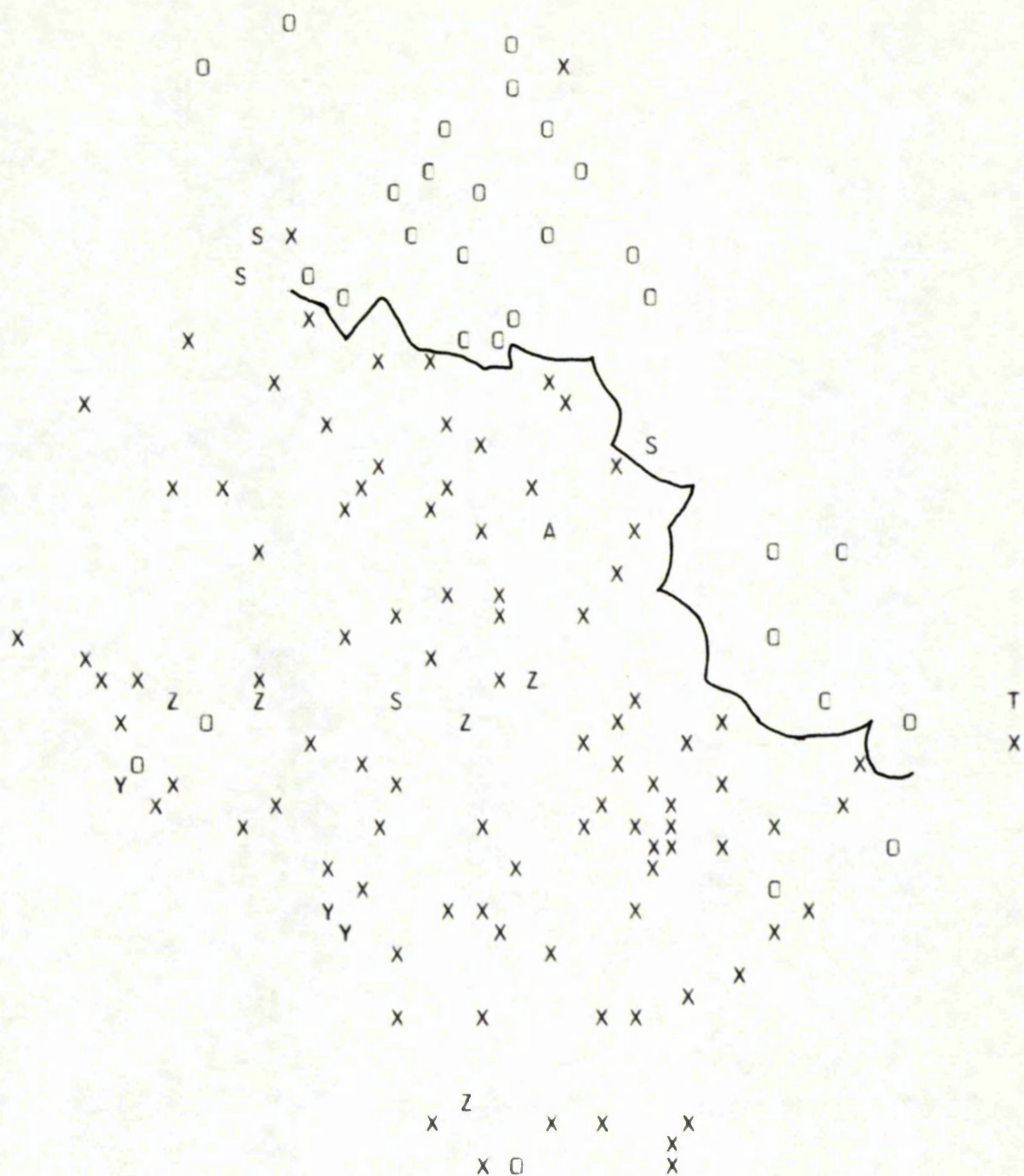
T = X (for laying eggs) and
O (for living)

U = X (domestic birds) and
O (wild birds)



MAP 64
'Paddle'

- | | | |
|-------------|------------|---------------|
| x [engáhi] | | o [engásja] |
| y [engási] | v [engáha] | p [engásjo] |
| z [é:ngahi] | w [engáhe] | |
| a [engási] | | g [ɔgwî:ko] |
| b [engási] | | h [ɔmwî:ko] |
| c [engâ:si] | | |
| e [enkási] | | k [engásura] |
| | | l [engási:re] |



MAP 65

'Owl'

X [etʃhu:ɲi:ra]

O [etʃhi:zi]

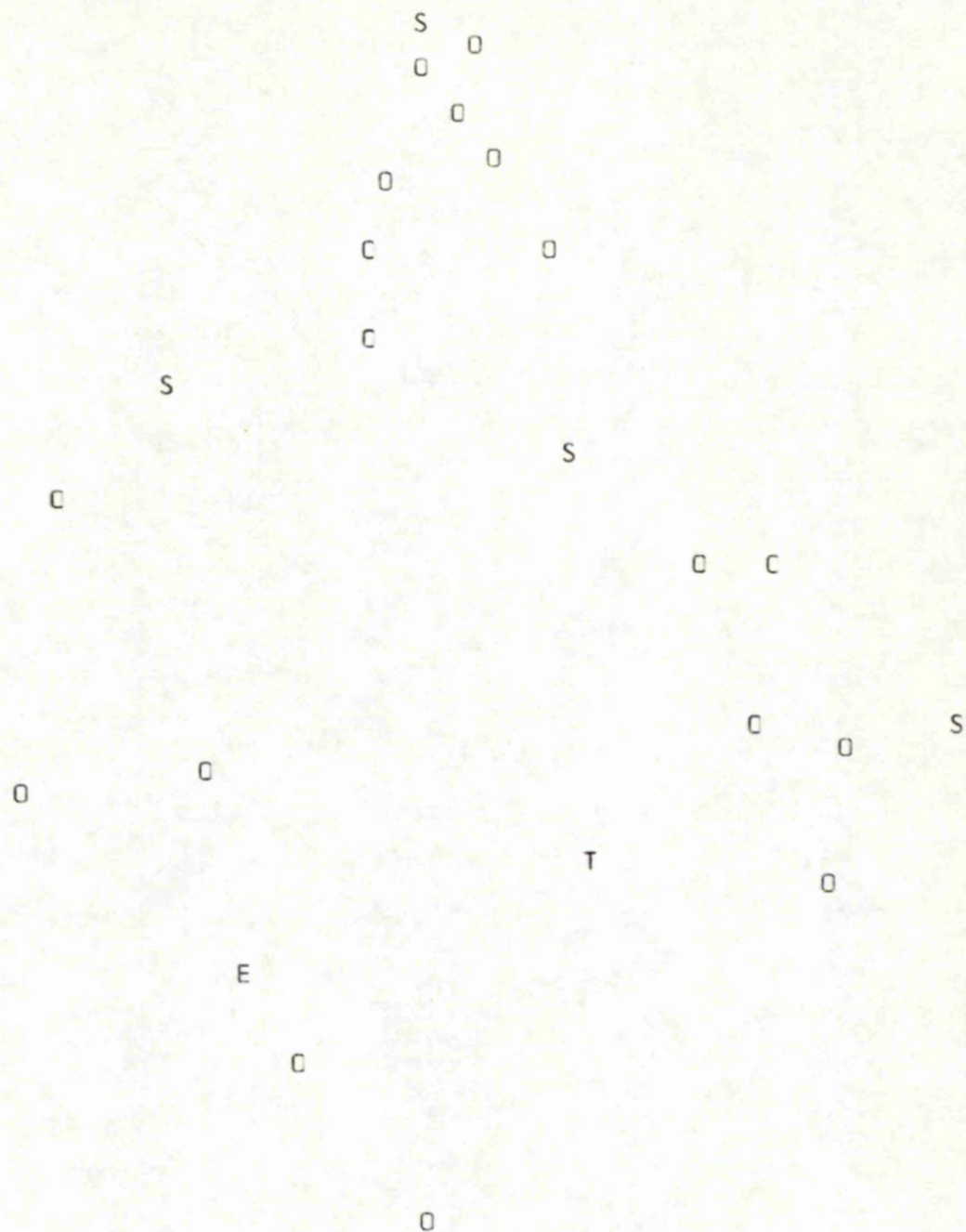
Y [edʒhu:ɲi:ra]

Z [etʃhu:ɲi:ra]

A [etʃhi:zi]

S = X and O

T = X and O (different species)



MAP 66
'Potter'

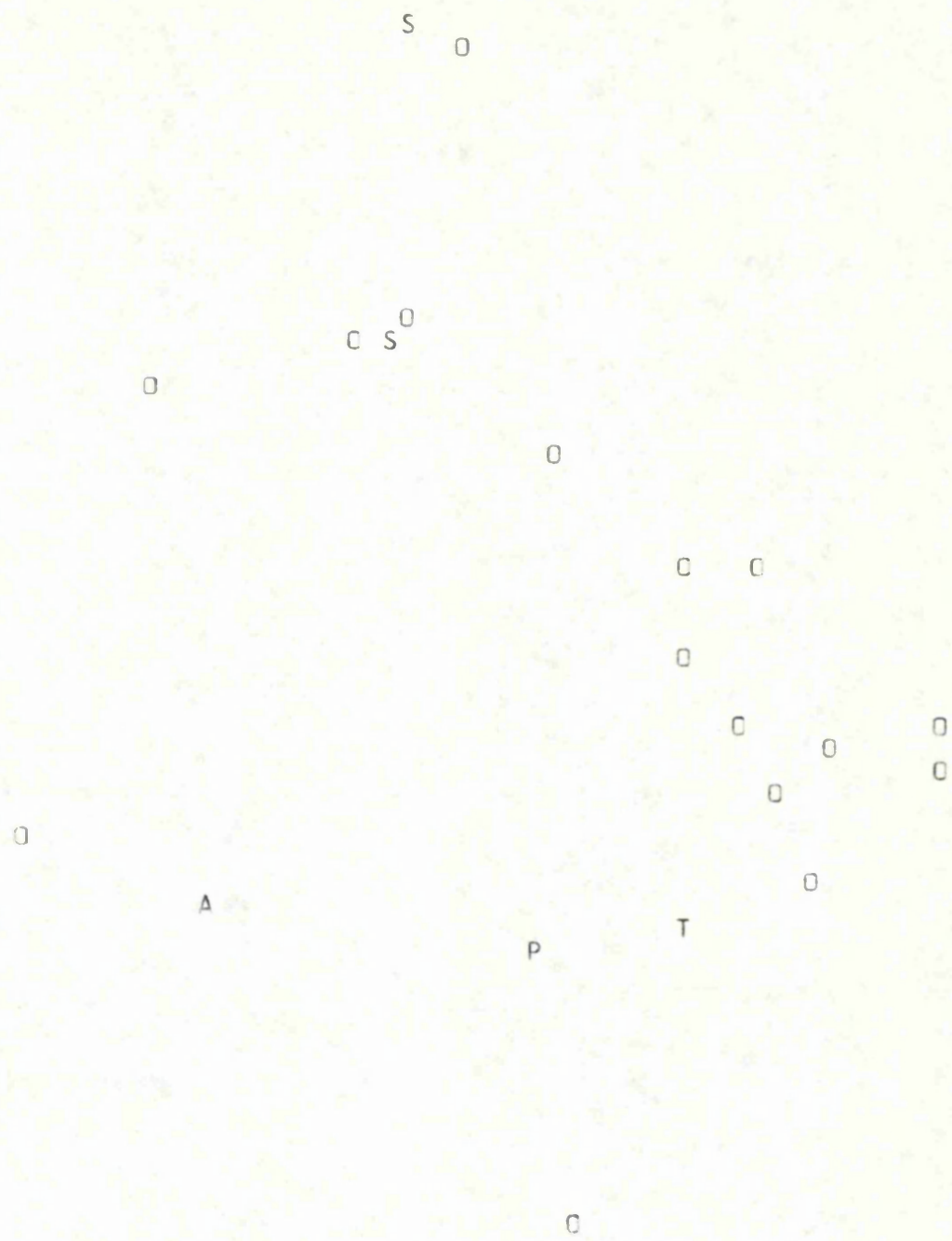
Unmarked

informants: [ɔmubû:mbi] O [ɔmunogózi]

E [ɔmubû:ndzɛ]

S = [ɔmubû:mbi] and O

T = [ɔmubû:mbi] 'modeller' and
O 'beater into shape'



MAP 67
'White ant'

Unmarked

informants: [ɔmúʃwə]

o [ɛntʃébebe]

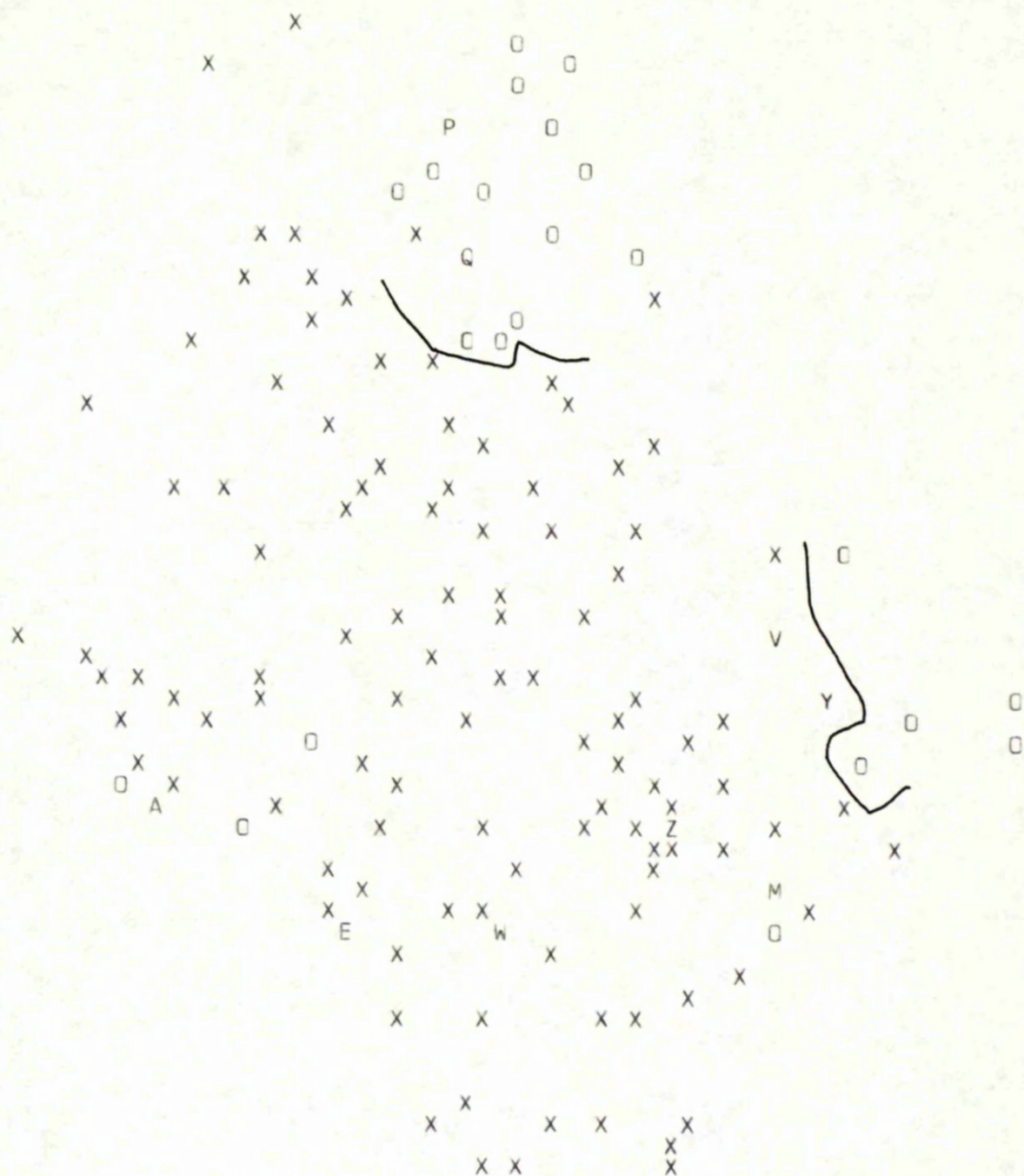
p [ɛtʃébebe]

A [ɛnkúbebe]

s = [ɔmúʃwə] and o

T = [ɔmúʃwə] (small) and

[ɛntʃébebe] (big)



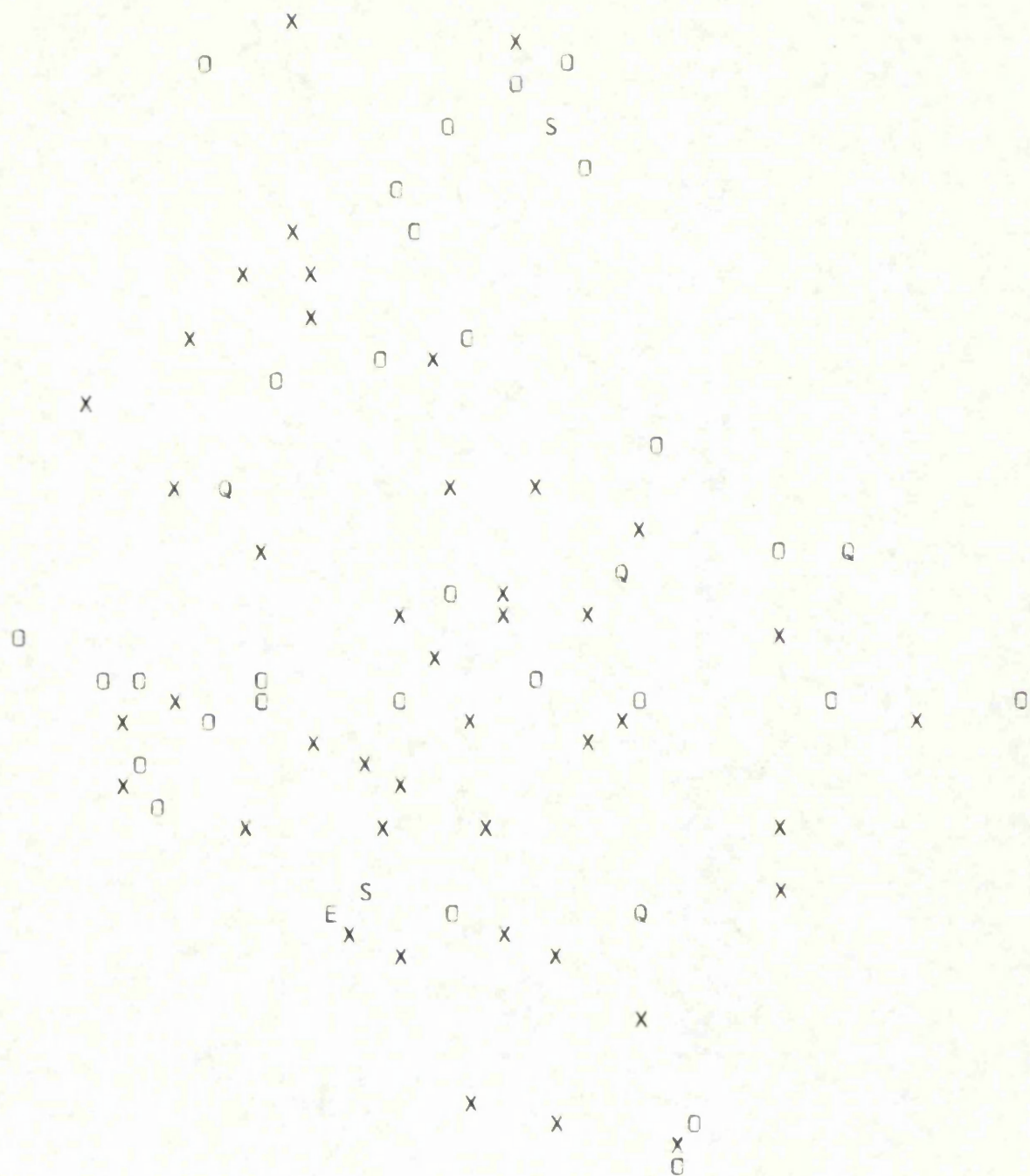
MAP 68
'Wart'

X [ɛʃû:ndwe] O [ɛʃû:ndo]
 Y [ɛsû:ndwe] V [ɛʃû:ndme] P [ɛsû:ndo]
 Z [ɛnʃû:ndwe] W [ɛʃû:ndwe] Q [ɛʃû:ndu]

A [ɛnKábje]

M [ɛʃû:ggo] (singular) and
 [ɛnʃû:gowe] (plural)

E [ɛmpɛŋgere]



MAP 69

'I gave it to him' (Near Past) (Class 7)

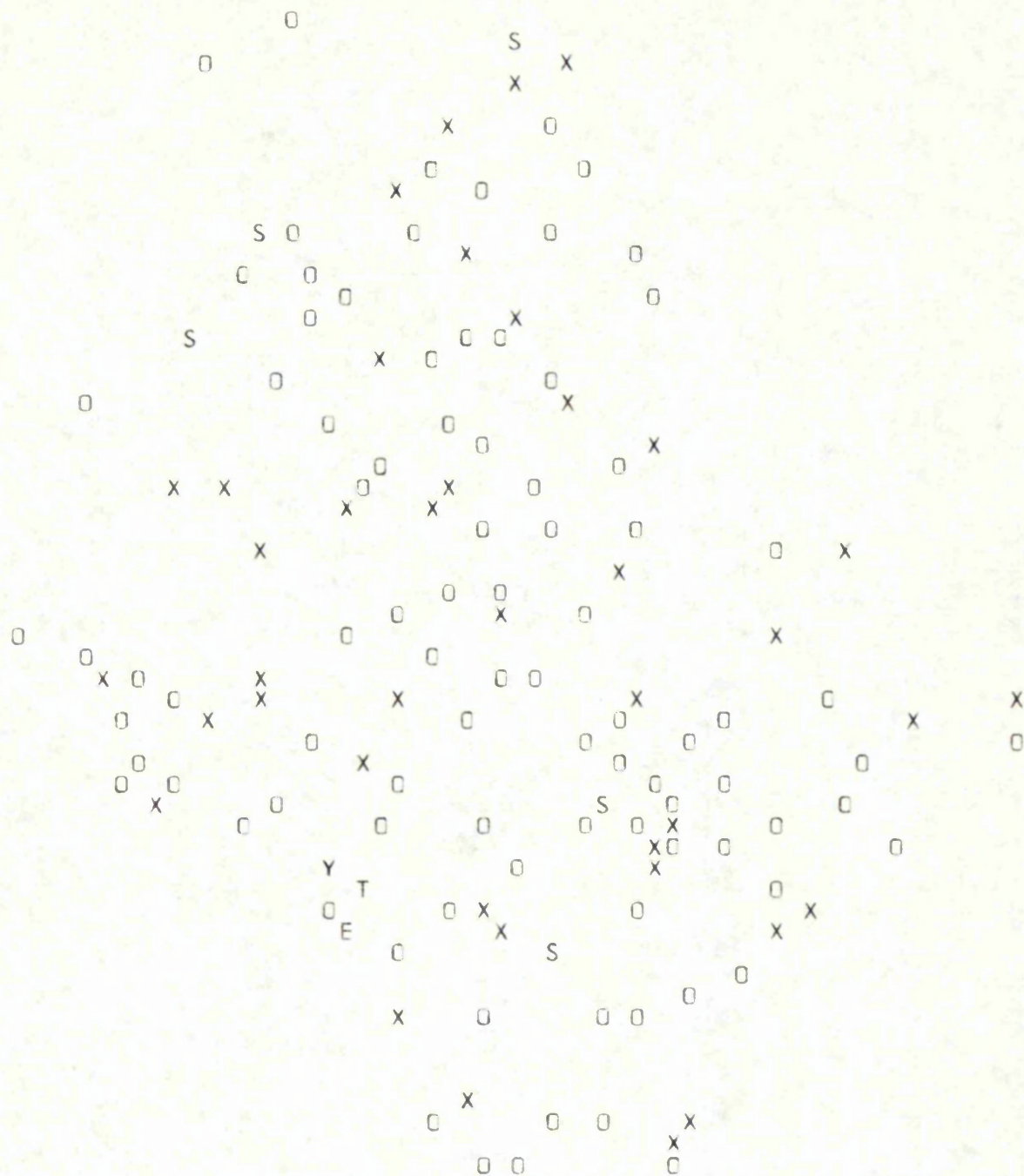
X [natʃimúha]

O [natʃimuhéreza]

Q [natʃimuhéréza]

E [natʃimuhéje]

S = X and O



MAP 70
'Sixty'

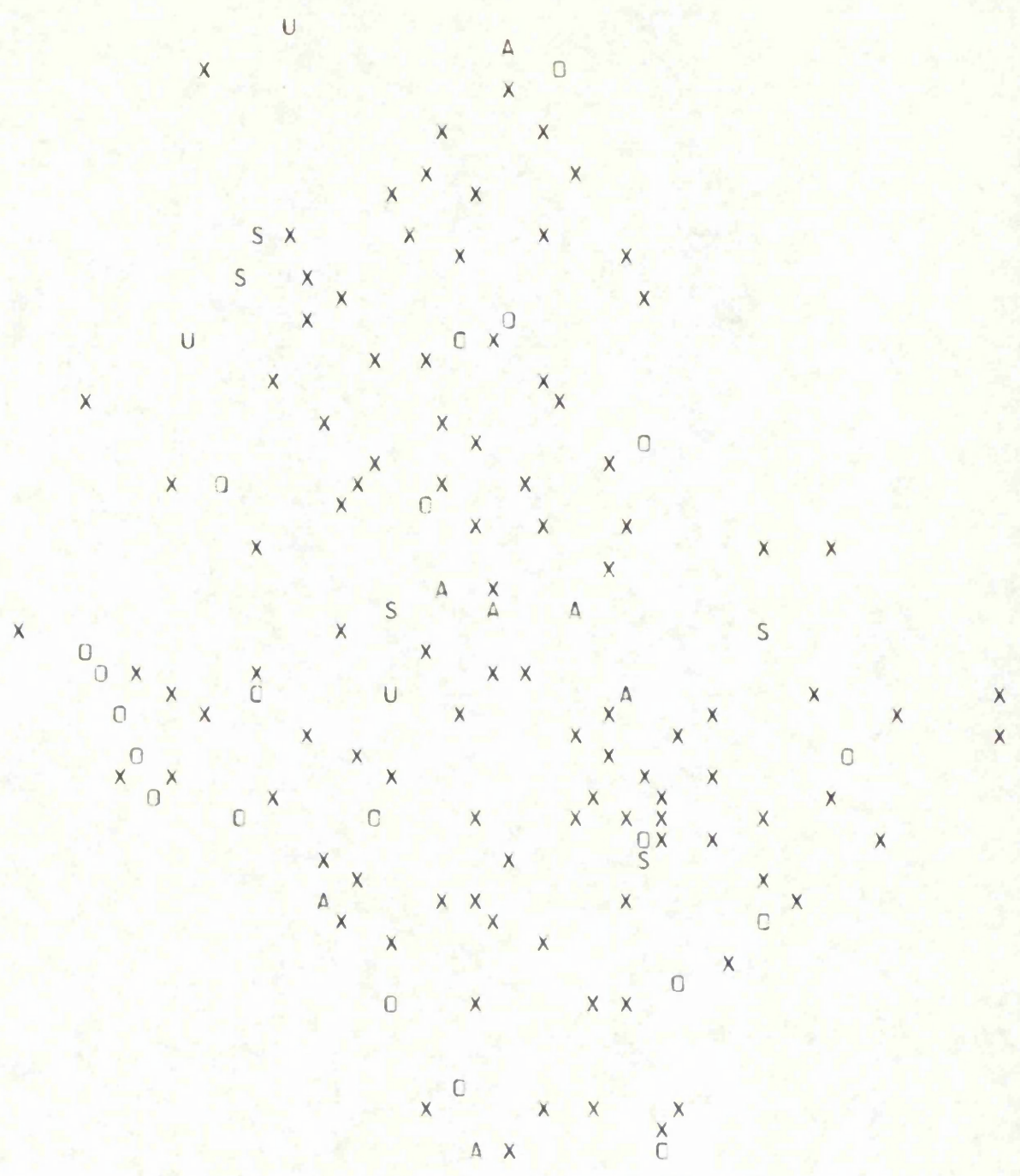
X [makumi mukâ:ga] O [ŋkâ:ga]

Y [amakumi mukâ:ga]

E [ikumi mukâ:ga]

S = X and O

T = X (to an old person) and
O (otherwise)



MAP 71

'One hundred'

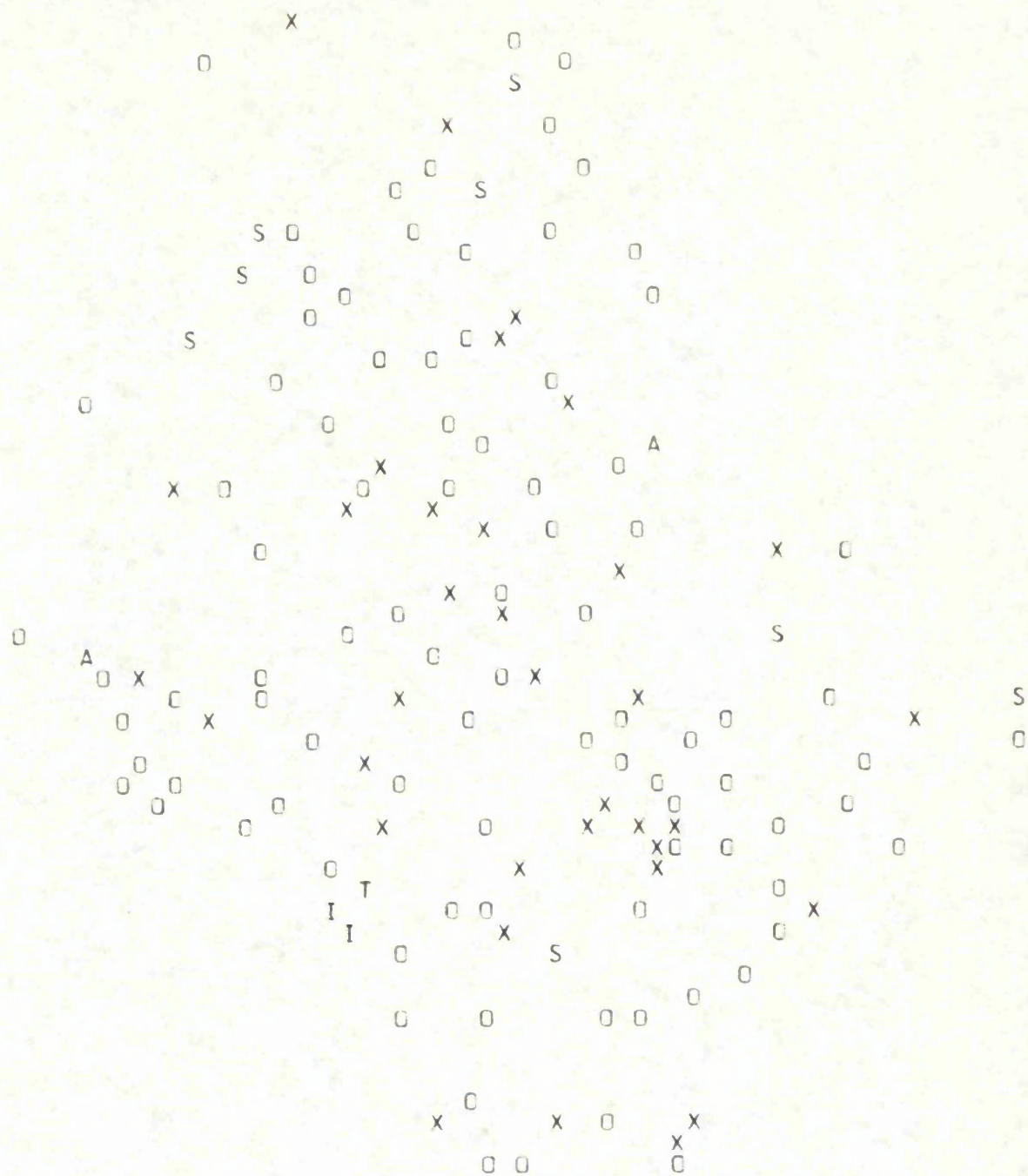
x [igána]

o [tʃikúmi]

A [tʃigána]

S = X and O

U = A and O



MAP 72

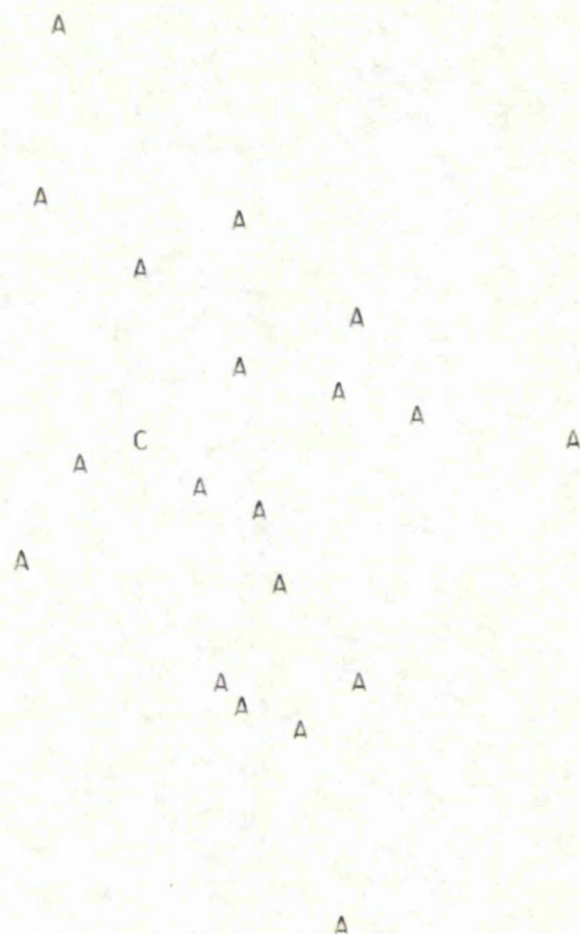
'Six hundred'

X [amagána mukâ:ga] O [rukâ:ga]

A [ɛbigána mukâ:ga]

S = X and O

T = X (to an old person) and
O (otherwise)



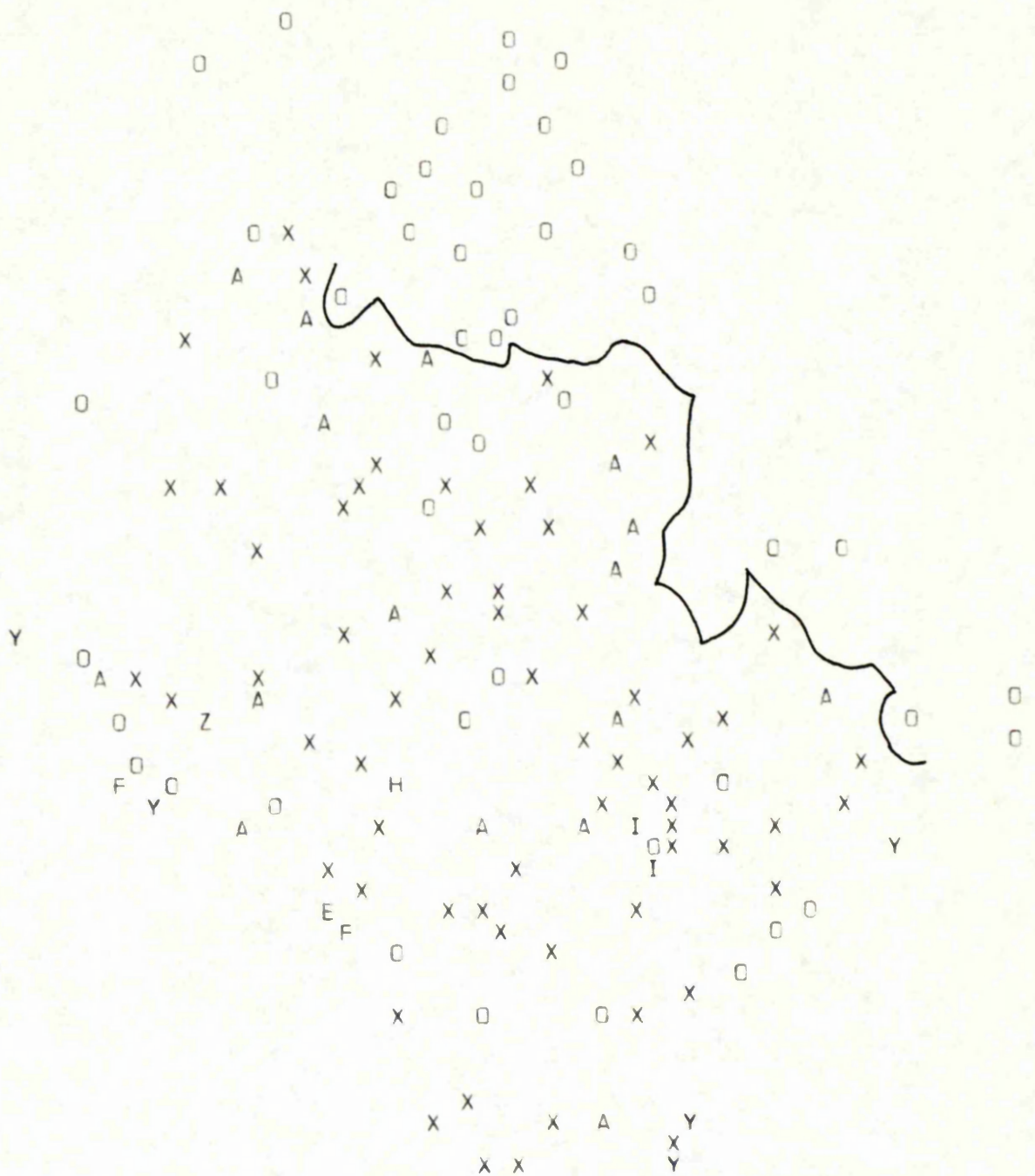
MAP 73

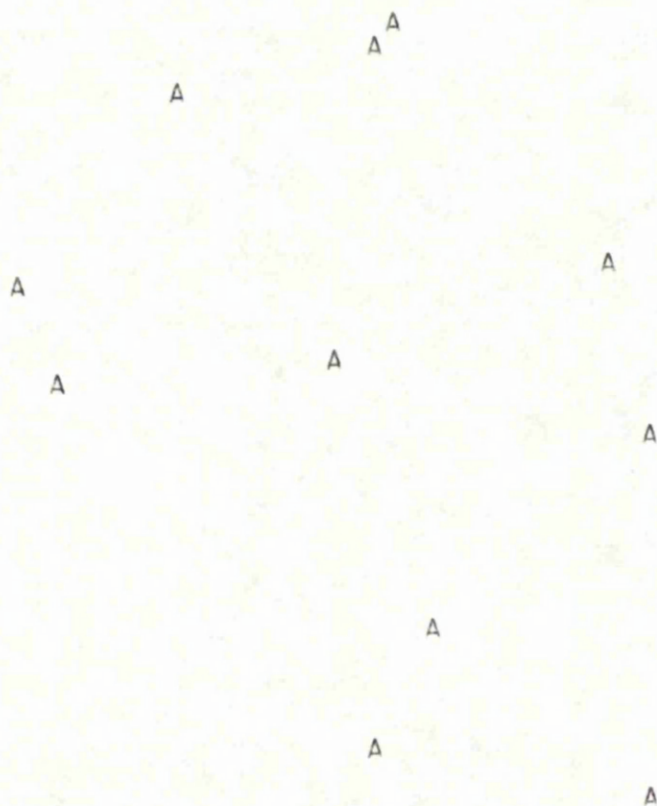
'I went' Modified root, verbs in [-nda]

Unmarked

informants: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[nâ:dzenzíre]} \\ \text{[nadzenzíre]} \\ \text{[ndzenzíre]} \end{array} \right\} \text{[-nzire]}$

$\text{A} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{[nâ:dzendíre]} \\ \text{[ndzendíre]} \\ \text{[ndadzéndíre]} \end{array} \right\} \text{[-nzire]}$
 $\text{C} \text{[nadzéndíre]}$





MAP 75

'Good' (Class 10) Vestigial Ganda law

Unmarked

informants

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [n\hat{u}:ndzi] \\ [zir\hat{u}:ndzi] \\ [dzir\hat{u}:ndzi] \\ [nzi':dza] \\ [n\hat{e}':\beta a] \end{array} \right\}$: Ganda law

$A \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [End\hat{u}:ndzi] \\ [End\hat{u}:ndzi] \end{array} \right\}$ no Ganda law

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